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COSMOPOLITAN ESSAYS.





COSMOPOLITAN ESSAYS

BY

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"ORIENTAL EXPERIENCE."

WITH MAPS.

LONDON: CHAPMAN AND HALL,
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1886.

PREFACE.

THIS Volume consists chiefly of contributions to leading Reviews, and of addresses delivered to important Societies, during the last two years. Two of the Essays, however, are new, and appear for the first time, namely, those which are entitled "Greece in 1885" and "The politics of Burmah." One also on "American Characteristics" has been composed from two separate addresses, and has thus virtually been re-written. All the Essays have been carefully revised, with suitable adaptations for reprinting at the present moment. Their style naturally varies much, some of them being papers prepared for reading aloud, others being reports of speeches. In the reproduction of the speeches, their original character, as natural with oral delivery, has been preserved.

. The topics are extremely diverse, relating to

many countries very wide apart. They lead the reader round the globe-encircling British Empire. They draw him towards a closer view of the colonies and the mother country. They invite him to the consideration of many social concerns in our native land. They carry him from the north-west prairie of Canada, to the valley of the Nile, to the Native States of India, and to the newly-annexed Burmah. They remind him of countries connected with the Asiatic relations of England, such as China and Turkomania. They advert to Palestine and Greece in reference to the Eastern Question. They turn straight to the basin of the Congo and the commerce of Central Africa. They conclude with a summary of the principal phenomena now displayed by our trans-atlantic kinsmen in the United States.

There is, indeed, much responsibility incurred by me in dealing with so many separate subjects as these. My reason, however, is, that I have personal knowledge of these matters, either from the opportunities of public service, or from the incidents of foreign travel, or from acquaintance with actors in the scenes portrayed. I have neces-

sarily had to read much in order to verify all that is adduced. Still, I describe not that which has been learnt by study, but that which has been witnessed by my own observation, or that which has been obtained at first hand from the best witnesses. With some exceptions, the contents of this volume result from actual knowledge of, or contact with, the affairs under discussion.

In so extensive a scheme of composition, it may seem hard to preserve a due order. Nevertheless, such an arrangement has been rigidly observed in the sixteen Essays of this volume. The first ten relate to the British Empire, comprising, as they do,—the economic statistics of that vast dominion,—the possibility of federation between the colonies and the mother country,—the field for colonization in the north-west of Canada,—the preservation of the forests in many climes,—the problems of social science in England itself,—the moral effect produced by events in the Sudan,—the military resources of India,—the career of Sir Bartle Frere as a typical statesman of the Anglo-Indian school,—the Christian vernacular literature of the East,—the political exigencies in Burmah in con-

tact with China. Our thoughts having been thus conducted to a momentary resting-point in India, we immediately proceed to the next two Essays, namely, those relating to the population of China and to the Russo-Afghan frontier, which are counterminous territories, just outside the British dominion. Quitting the British Empire and the countries contiguous to it, we touch in the next three Essays upon the Holy Land, Modern Greece, and the Congo Basin, countries replete with interests religious, moral, material, and political. We conclude with some account of our kindred nationality in the United States.

Throughout the volume, consisting of these various parts, there is one *nexus*, one guiding eida, one moral, namely, that of British duty and responsibility in affairs which concern almost every part of the world. From this standpoint, and in this light, everything is regarded.

My acknowledgments are tendered to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the Royal Geographical Society, the Statistical Society, the Quarterly Review, the Contemporary Review, the National Review, the Christian Vernacular

PREFACE.

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Education Society, for permission to reprint the papers.

While keeping the gaze fixed on national principles, I have yet tried to reserve some space for that which is picturesque and beautiful in nature. I have striven to realize for my readers the prospect offered by Dibdin more than half a century ago.

— “Within the precincts of his Library the collector of voyages and travels makes himself acquainted with all countries, climates, and characters, as he sits in his easy chair. He now scales the perilous height, and now traverses the plain with equal impunity. If it be the season of winter, he draws close his curtain, stirs his wood-coal fire, and throws himself into sunny lands. Or, should summer dart its heat upon his head, he seeks the arbour of his garden, and beneath the foliage of holly and ivy spreads his folio and is cooled by the fancied breezes of arctic regions.”

R. T.

The Nash, Kempsey, near Worcester,

March, 1886.

ERRATA.

Page 123, line 10, *for* Herschel, *read* Herschell.

Page 427, last line, *for* Gongo, *read* Congo.

Page 467, line 2 from foot, *for* Wissahikken, *read* Wissahickon.

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COSMOPOLITAN ESSAYS.

CHAPTER I.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1884.*

Area of the British Empire—Professional surveys—Coast line—Varying value of land—Total of inhabitants—Various races—Several religions—Urban and rural classes—Sparseness or density of population—General revenues—Direct and indirect taxation—Local revenues—Rate per head of people—Total land forces—Cost of defensive armaments—Police—Ships of war—Merchant shipping—Imports and exports—Banking business—Manufacturing power—Elements of national industry—Imperial wealth—Mileage of railways—Railway traffic—Electric telegraphs—Canals—Capital and interest of public debt—State of crime—Pauperism—Emigration—Savings banks, friendly societies, and life insurance—Charitable expenditure—Post Office and letter-writing—National education—Religious missions—General summary.

THE subject chosen for this address is that of the British Empire. It will, I hope, be deemed appropriate for the meeting which is held in one

* Paper read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Montreal, August 1884, as Presidential Address in the Section of Economic Science.

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of the fairest colonies which this empire contains.* Though statistics are fallible, yet the collation and presentation of them must be regarded as essential to political and economic knowledge. Indeed they are, figuratively, the backbone of information, and without them our knowledge would be invertebrate. Owing to the variety of sources from which the

* In 1884 the British Association held its annual meeting in Canada, having received a special invitation from the Government of the Dominion and from the Canadian public. As this was the first time in its annals that the Association had met beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, the occasion was one of special interest. The members of the Association crossed the Atlantic in large numbers, and thus the attendance of British Associates was very satisfactory. The Canadians on their part responded in a patriotic, generous, and hospitable manner. Thus the Canadian attendance was very considerable also. Many citizens of the United States, too, attended, and several representatives of American science. The President was Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S. The scientific result of the meeting was regarded as very good by the authorities in science. The contributions from Canada and America were happily numerous. In the Economic Science section especially the papers furnished by Canadian writers were varied and excellent. All possible means were adopted by the Canadian Government, the municipal authorities, the railway companies, the various corporations, and many eminent individuals, to render the meeting memorable. Several works of public beneficence were inaugurated at that time. The excursions to Quebec, Niagara, and elsewhere had magnificent features. One excursion, namely, that to the Rocky Mountains, was one of extraordinary duration, distance, and interest.

facts have to be drawn for an empire that is spread over the world, and owing to the magnitude of the figures which have to be produced, it will frequently be necessary to state the totals approximately and in round numbers. Again, owing to the largeness of the subject and the limitation of space, it will be impossible to do more than state the principal facts in the form of an abstract.

Our facts, then, will be grouped under the following headings :—

- I. The area, consisting of widely extended regions.
- II. The inhabitants of these many lands.
- III. The works of man as they are displayed in this vast theatre of action.

First, then, the area of the British Empire may be set down at 8,650,000, or more than $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions, of square miles. This area includes the countries which are directly recognised as the component parts of the empire in Europe, in the East and West Indies, in Australia, in North America, in South Africa, and in the possessions scattered among nearly all the regions in the world. Out of this total there are only 120,000 square miles in the United Kingdom. Then there are $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of square miles in India, and the remainder, or 7 millions, belong to the Colonies, and to the scattered possessions.

But there are other regions which, though not

belonging to the empire, have yet fallen, or are falling, under its political control more or less, such as Egypt, some districts in Southern Arabia, a part of Borneo, Zululand, the Transvaal, Afghanistan, Beluchistan, and a part of New Guinea. The area of these additional regions may be set down approximately at 1,103,000, or about one million of square miles, and this figure is probably somewhat below the reality. Thus the total area, directly or indirectly under the authority of the British Crown, may be taken at nearly 10 millions of square miles, or about one-fifth of the 50 millions of square miles composing the habitable globe.

The dimensions of this imperial area have been ascertained by professional surveys; of which the progress has kept pace with the expansion of the empire. Out of the grand total not less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles have been topographically surveyed, and of this nearly all has been surveyed minutely field by field. This cadastral survey, presenting the details of every field for a vast area, is to be reckoned among the largest operations ever known in the annals of administration. The remainder has been (for the most part) either partially surveyed or partially explored. A small portion, however, remains but imperfectly explored, or else almost unexplored.

As might be expected in an empire whereof the real basis of power is maritime, the coast-line is of

an extraordinary length, to be measured by about 28,500 miles, with 48 large harbours; for the whole of this length marine surveys have been prepared.

In an empire which lies on both sides of the Equator, and is scattered over both hemispheres, there are varieties of climate touching the extremes of heat and cold. Of the whole about one-sixth is within the tropics, one-third in the antipodes, one-third in North America, and the remaining one-sixth in the temperate zone of Europe and Asia.

But greatness does not depend on area alone, and there is a vast range in the scale of value for lands. For instance, it has been computed that the average letting value of land in the interior of England is several hundred times as great as that in the interior of Siberia. So in the British Empire there are wide tracts, which may be important politically and prospectively, but of which the value cannot be measured by a statistical test. Out of the 10 millions of square miles, hardly one-fifth is cultivated or occupied in the widest use of the term occupation. The area, however, which is capable of being brought under cultivation, and of sustaining the future increase of population, must be regarded as enormous. It is chiefly in Australia and Canada, in which two divisions it may be reckoned at upwards of 2 millions of square miles, enough at the lowest computation to support 200 millions of souls. Even in India, which is popularly, though not quite

correctly, supposed to be thickly populated, the cultivable waste is not less than a quarter of a million of square miles. Then there is a residue which is uncultivable waste, and of which the dimensions cannot be precisely measured. It consists of mountains and forests, with some desert, in the heart of Australia. These mountains are among the greatest ranges in the world. The forests are very extensive, and their extent cannot be precisely stated. They are infinitely various both in respect of value and of condition; some being poor or half destroyed, others being rich and well preserved. But there are in the empire about 100,000 square miles of forests which are being formally and professionally preserved to become a mighty source of national wealth.

In the second place, respecting the inhabitants, the total population amounts to 305 millions of souls in those regions which are included directly in the empire. If the countries already mentioned as more or less under political control were to be included, then about 10 millions more would have to be added, bringing up the total to 315 millions.

This mass of humanity is composed of many diverse nationalities, among whom the primary distinction is that of race. There are 45 millions of the fair races; among these about 39 millions are Anglo-Saxons, including German colonists. Three and a half millions are Celtic (mainly Irish), $1\frac{1}{2}$

million are French Canadians, half a million are Dutch in South Africa; and there are a certain number belonging to other nationalities, Scandinavians, Swiss, Greeks; but there are few from the Latin race in the South of Europe, and hardly any Russians.

Again, of the 315 millions, ethnically there are 45 millions of the fair or Caucasian race, 254 of the Aryan, and 5 of the Mongolian, the remainder belonging to aboriginal races.

A cardinal distinction between the several nationalities is that of religion. Christianity, the religion of the dominant race, is professed by somewhat more than the 45 millions of the fair races above mentioned, but the total can hardly exceed 46 millions out of the 315 millions, that is, one-seventh of the whole. The religion which includes the largest number is Hinduism. There are 188 millions of Hindus, and it may indeed be said that the whole Hindu race is subject to the British crown. The Hindus then form more than a half of the total population in the empire. Under the generic name of Hindu, however, there are counted many thousand of Brahmos, who are really Theists, and there are 3 millions of Sikhs and Jains, closely connected with Hinduism.

Then there are 50 millions of Muhammadans under the British crown in India, and there are 10 millions more in the Muhammadan countries con-

nected with the British Empire : in all 60 millions. This number exceeds the number of the Muhammadans belonging to any of the Muhammadan States, such as Turkey, or Persia, and in fact comprises half the Muhammadan world.

The number of Buddhists is not considerable, amounting to about 7,000,000, chiefly in Burmah and Ceylon, with some Chinese in Australia and other divisions of the empire. Then there is a small remainder, about 7,000,000, consisting of Pagans chiefly, the Aborigines of the East Indies, including also the North American Indians, the Australasian natives, and the African tribes of the Cape.

In the United Kingdom the proportion of urban to rural population is large, being more than one-half already, and likely to increase to two-thirds. In England especially, the majority of the people dwell in towns. At present a similar tendency is observable in Australia, where the people are mainly urban. But in the rest of the empire the mass of the population is rural, a certain percentage only being urban. In India, especially, it is to be remarked that nine-tenths of the people are in villages, leaving one-tenth only for the towns.

If the total population were spread over the total area of the empire, the average would amount to only 33 persons to the square mile, which suggests a wonderful sparseness of population in a wealthy

and prosperous empire. The sparseness arises from the inclusion in the empire of tracts, either uninhabited or but slightly inhabited, such as the Himalayas, the frigid regions in the north of Canada, a part of the Rocky Mountains, and the arid desert in the heart of Australia. Indeed it were almost idle to reckon the average of the population in the total area in the Dominion of Canada, or in Australia. Even in India the general average amounts to only 184 to the square mile, nevertheless India contains some of the most densely peopled districts in the world. In some Indian provinces a population, to be counted by tens of millions, average from 300 to 400 the square mile, and in some Indian districts, with a population to be counted by some millions, the average rises to 800, even to 900 on the square mile. As is well known, England (as separate from Wales, Scotland, and Ireland) is the only part of the empire which is densely peopled throughout, its average per square mile, 485 souls, being almost exactly the same as that of Belgium, the most densely peopled part of the Continent of Europe.

Heretofore under the first two headings we may have wondered at the smallness of the proportion which the United Kingdom bears to the empire in respect of area and population. Under the next or third heading we shall be constrained to admire the largeness of the proportion which the United

Kingdom bears to the empire in respect of wealth, commerce, and resources. The third and last heading then relates to the works of man, his riches and power, his industrial and commercial operations.

One among the primary tests of national resources is the public revenue.

The annual revenue and receipts collected in the British empire for the general government or administration amounts to 203,000,000 sterling annually. Of this mighty sum, 89,000,000 pertain to the United Kingdom, 74,000,000 to India, and 40,000,000 to the Colonies and the Dependencies. This includes British territories only, and not the Native States of India, nor the countries politically connected with the empire. If that could be added, however, the addition would not be very material to so great a total as that above shown.

The revenue which is raised indirectly from the consumer is less felt than that which is levied directly from the tax-payer. It may therefore be well to observe that of the 203,000,000 not more than one fourth (or 50,000,000) is obtained from direct taxation, land tax, property tax, and the like, the remainder being obtained from customs, excise, and other sources of indirect taxation.

But, besides the general government and administration, there is a large revenue received throughout the empire for local purposes. This income (including various receipts but excluding loans)

amounts to hardly less than 61,000,000 sterling yearly, of which 49,500,000 belong to the United Kingdom, and 5,000,000 to India; the greater part of this is levied by direct taxation.

Inasmuch as the payer feels the payment whether the money be applied to general or to local purposes, it is but just to add together the two great heads of imperial and local revenue. Thus the total of 203 and 61 millions amounts to 264 millions sterling annually, truly an amazing amount at first sight, the like of which has never yet been imagined. Still the sum is not apparently high for the total population, amounting to £1 5s. 4d. per head per annum.* But the average incidence varies greatly, being £4 7s. 5d. per head in the United Kingdom, £2 14s. 1d. per head in the Colonies and Dependencies, and only 7s. 11d. in India.

Another test of power relates to the provision for external defence and internal protection—in other words, to armies, auxiliary forces, and organised police, to navies and marine.

Now the men trained to arms in the British Empire may be stated at 850,000, including the regular British forces at home and abroad, the militia, and volunteers, in the United Kingdom, and in the Colonies, the British Native forces in India, and

* This ratio includes the British subjects only, and not the Native States under British control,

other countries. This includes 10,000 Egyptian troops under a British general, but excludes the forces of the Native States of India, and of the other countries politically connected with the empire. If, however, the forces of the Native States of India be added (and they are available for imperial purposes—see Chapter VII.), then the total of 850,000 would be raised to nearly a million.

Thus the men under arms, or effectively trained to arms, are in number more than three quarters of a million, and under the last-named computation would amount to nearly a million. This number represents those who are really serving, or who are in receipt of allowances, or are actually called out from time to time—and not those who are liable to be summoned in the event of emergency. This actual total will bear comparison numerically with the standing armies of the martial empires now in the world, though there may be an important difference in respect to military organisation. But the total is very small in comparison with the size of the British Empire, representing only one soldier to every 10 square miles, and to every 376 of the population. Thus the military forces of the British Empire, taken at the outside figure, are much smaller, relatively to the territory and the people, than those of any other great State, excepting only the United States of America. There remains, too, the cardinal fact that the British military forces are

raised entirely by voluntary enlistment, a circumstance almost unique in the military arrangements of the present age.

Of the total strength, 850,000, about 150,000 are soldiers of the dark or coloured races, and the remainder, or 700,000, are of the fair or dominant race. But, if the total of a million be taken, then it may be said that 300,000 are of the dark races, and 700,000 of the fair or dominant race. These proportions are satisfactory in respect to the safety of the empire.

The defensive armaments of the empire by sea and land cost 41 millions sterling annually, or 20 per cent. of the total revenue and receipts, which proportion is less than that shown by any great State in the world, except the United States. If the expenditure be compared with the whole population of the empire, then it amounts to less than four shillings a head, which (always with the exception of the United States) is the cheapest rate to be found in any great State of the world.

Subsidiary to external defence is that internal protection which a police force secures. Now the police force of the British Empire, metropolitan, municipal, and rural together, is in numbers about 210,000. Of this total, 51,000 are in the United Kingdom, and 147,000 in India, the remainder being in the Colonies and Dependencies. It may

be a question whether there should be added to this total the number of village police in India, who are paid not by the State, but by village cesses, and who are legally recognised. Their number is not exactly known, but is not less than 350,000, and this addition would bring the grand total of the police for the empire up to 560,000.

Thus we have for the whole empire an average of one policeman to every 571 of the people, and to every 16 square miles.

It is never to be forgotten that one of the main reasons why the British Empire is able to keep its land forces at a comparatively low scale, is its preponderance at sea. Owing to the astonishing difference of power between the different kinds of ships, and in the preparedness of ships to put to sea and fight, the difficulty of exhibiting the strength of a navy by figures is becoming greater and greater.

The predominance which we hope to find in the British navy will be hardly shown by the enumeration of ships. With this caution, however, it may be stated that there are 246 British war vessels afloat or in commission, of which 72 are sailing-ships, and 174 have steam power. There are now 63 ironclads, either complete or nearly complete. The number of officers and men amounts to 57,000. The number of ironclads ready for action at the shortest notice is now 44, of which 25 are at sea.

These facts will probably be found to indicate a naval preparedness fit to cope with such foreign combinations as could reasonably be anticipated.

In respect to mercantile shipping a statistical exposition is more applicable. The British merchant navy consists of 30,000 ships, with $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions of tons, manned by 270,000 sailors. The seagoing tonnage under the British flag amounts to 3 millions of tons in steamers, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of tons in sailing vessels. Now under the flags of other nations there are $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of tons in steamers and $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions in sailing vessels. In other words, the British Empire surpasses all other nations together in respect of steamers, and nearly equals them in respect of sailing vessels. In respect of carrying-power in the world by sea, 49 per cent. belongs to the British Empire, and 51 per cent. to other nations. Again, out of 55,000 ships in the world over 100 tons, 21,000 are British. The comparison remains in similar terms in respect to the earnings of shipping. Out of 129 millions of tons carried yearly by the shipping of the world, 63 millions are under the British flag. Out of 133 million pounds sterling earned from freight and passengers by the ships of the world, 73 millions are earned by British ships. A similar proportion is shown by the port entries of the world, represented yearly by 125,000 tons, of which 57,000 (or nearly half) pertain to the British Empire.

In shipbuilding the proportion is still more favourable to the British Empire. Out of 1,800,000 tons built annually, 1,200,000 are built in Great Britain.

The total trade of the British Empire cannot be exhibited statistically because the component parts are separated by oceans. Consequently, much of the trade is between these parts, and it would be meaningless to sum up the several items into one grand total.

Still it is well to summarise the separate items, each of which is a mighty factor in the prosperity of the empire. As is well known, then, the United Kingdom in 1882 exported 241 millions sterling worth of British produce with 65 millions worth of foreign and colonial produce, and imported 413 millions; the total value of the trade being thus 719 millions sterling. The ocean-borne trade of India is valued at 143 millions sterling annually, that of the Colonies and dependencies amounts to 302 millions; truly an astonishing amount in comparison with their population.

If the aliquot parts of the trade of the principal nations be computed, then about one-fifth, or 21 per cent. of the whole, belongs to the United Kingdom, and 13 per cent. to the Colonies and dependencies. Thus 34 per cent., or one-third of the world's commerce, pertains to the British Empire.

The ratio of seaborne commerce per inhabitant yearly is 20*l.* in the United Kingdom, 31*l.* in Aus-

tralia, 9*l.* in Canada, and 6*l.* in the United States. In Europe the British ratio is exceeded in Holland and equalled by Belgium, but in other European countries the ratio is far less.

In respect to banking, the United Kingdom is known to be the busiest on earth, and transacts one-third of the business of the world. The total of capital and deposits used in the banking of all nations amounts to 2,508 millions sterling, of which no less than 965 millions belong to the British Empire, representing a proportion of 39 per cent. But there is a considerable amount of capital employed by the native bankers of India, amounting to many millions sterling, of which the sum cannot be precisely stated. On the whole it seems that considerably more than one-third of the banking business of the world is done within the British Empire. The same proportion is shown by the sum-total of capital and deposits of the banks. From this it follows that the average per inhabitant in the United Kingdom is 25*l.*, the average for the Continent of Europe being 4*l.*, and that of the United States being 10*l.* The only country to be compared with the United Kingdom is Australia, where the average is 30*l.*

The manufactures of the United Kingdom are valued at 818 millions sterling annually. Those of the Colonies are estimated at 59 millions. The value of the Indian manufactures cannot be stated, but must

be large. The significance of this will be understood from the fact that a similar total for the rest of Europe gives 2,600 millions. In general terms it may be stated that British manufactures form one-third of those for all Europe put together. The great competitor is, of course, the United States, where the value appears to exceed that of the United Kingdom. The American manufactures are indeed wonderful, not only in their present magnitude, but in the rapidity of their progress, and in the prospect of their extension. Still it is difficult to institute a precise comparison, because some items are included in their total which are not reckoned in the United Kingdom.

Another test is that of factory steam-power; this power in the world is represented by $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of horse-power. Of that total, $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions, or about 30 per cent. are British.

Again, it has been computed that if the main elements of national industry be taken together, namely, commerce, manufactures, mining, agriculture, carrying trade, and banking, the total, 2,000 millions sterling and upwards annually, is about the same for the United Kingdom and the States.* But the United States are advancing the fastest, and are

* See Mulhall's *Balance Sheet of the World*, and *Dictionary of Statistics*. These figures have been largely adopted in the American Census Report of 1880.

already passing ahead. Their population, however—55 millions of souls—is greater by 19 millions than the British 36 millions. The aggregate of industries shows an average of 51*l.* per head in the United Kingdom, against 42*l.* in the United States. The fact, then, that the United Kingdom, despite disparity of population, is still able to do nearly as much as its giant offspring, affords striking proof of sustained vitality in the mother country.

It is inferrible from this computation that the average of earnings per head in the United Kingdom is 35*l.* 4*s.*, and exceeds that in the United States (27*l.* 4*s.*) and that in Canada (26*l.* 18*s.*). But it is actually exceeded by the average in Australia, which reaches apparently the amount of 43*l.* 4*s.* per head, and is the highest in the world. Still the rate of earnings in the new countries founded by the Anglo-Saxon race approximates to that of the mother land, but the average rate for the Continent of Europe is only 18*l.* 1*s.* In other words, the British rate is more than double. France is the only large European country which at all approaches the United Kingdom in this respect, and together with France may be classed the little countries of Belgium, Holland, and Denmark.

It follows from these facts that the wealth of the United Kingdom in land, cattle, railways, and public works, houses and furniture, merchandise, bullion, shipping, and sundries, valued at 8,720 millions

sterling, exceeds that of any European State, and is just double that of Russia. But it is exceeded by the corresponding figure for the United States, namely, 9,495 millions sterling.*

For the British Empire, however, must be added 1,240 millions for Canada and Australia, precisely computed on similar terms ; and at least 2,500 millions for India, and other dependencies which cannot be precisely computed, and which may be below the reality. Thus the wealth of the British Empire apparently stands at the truly grand total of 12,460 millions sterling ; which justifies the old expression that this empire is the richest State on the face of the earth.

But the preponderance in this respect is not nearly so great as might be expected from the numbers of the population. The cause is this, that in one large section, India, the earnings and the value of labour are very much less than in Europe and North America.

The 8,720 millions of British wealth represents a sum seven times the annual income, namely, 1,247 millions, which seems to be a fair calculation. According to this the British people earn 14 per cent. on their capital, which rate is about the same

* See *Contemporary Review*, December 1881, and *British Association Report*, 1883, p. 624. This figure is the most recent, but the amount has sometimes been put as high as 10,000 millions.

as that of the United States. It exceeds the corresponding ratio on the Continent of Europe. But it is considerably surpassed by the ratios in Canada and Australia—18 and 22 per cent. respectively.

The construction of public works is a test of national progress; those works which may here be selected for mention are railways, electric telegraphs, and canals.

For the British empire there are 38,000 miles of railway open, of which 18,000 miles are in the United Kingdom, and 20,000 miles in India and the Colonies. For the area and population of the empire this figure is not remarkable, inasmuch as in the world there are about 260,000 miles, of which the British Empire has only one-sixth. It is an astonishing fact that in the United States alone there are nearly 115,000 miles, more than double and nearly three times the mileage of the whole British Empire.

The extent of railways in proportion to population is larger in the United Kingdom than in any other part of Europe, but is much smaller than in the Colonies and in the United States. While there are 520 miles to every million of inhabitants in the United Kingdom, there are 1,920 in Australia, and 1,780 in Canada; but even the colonial proportion is overtopped in the United States, where the corresponding number is 2,106. But if the test of the value of railways be the amount of work done by

them in proportion to their mileage, then in this respect no railways in the world equal the British. The average earnings per mile of a railway in the United States is 1,440*l.* In India the average of earnings (1,330*l.*) is about the same; in Australia (1,075*l.*) it is lower; and in Canada (790*l.*) it is still less. But in the United Kingdom it is more than double, being 3,800*l.* In the United Kingdom 18,000 miles of railway earn 69 millions sterling annually; in the United States 100,000 miles of railway earn only 136 millions. The general maximum speed of trains in the United Kingdom and the total mileage run by express trains are considerably greater in the United Kingdom than in any other country.

It has been computed, by adding together the number of passengers and of tons carried, that 46 per cent. of the railway traffic of the world is done by the railways of the British Empire. In abatement of this, however, it should be added that the distances run in the United Kingdom are less than on the Continent of Europe, and still less than in the United States.

Regarding electric telegraphs on land, there are 86,000 miles in the British Empire, or nearly one-fifth of the sum-total for the world. It is remarkable that the telegraphs in Australia—26,000 miles—are exactly equal to those in the United Kingdom. But, in illustration of the difference between

an old and a new country, there are 31 millions of messages yearly in the United Kingdom, and only 5 millions in Australia. In other words, the telegraph does six times as much in the old country as in the new. Similarly in the United States the length of telegraph—121,000 miles—is amazing, but the messages are only 34 millions, just in excess of those in the United Kingdom. In other words, the work is more than four times as heavy in the United Kingdom in comparison with the United States. Besides the land telegraphs, there are submarine cables in the world, with the surprising length of 105,000 miles. Of these the greater part belong to the British Empire.

In regard to canals of navigation, there are about 6,000 miles in the British Empire. The significance of this will be appreciated by recollecting that for the world the total length is set down at 23,000 miles. Thus one-fourth out of the world's total is British. But in these figures there are not included the channels of irrigation in India, of which the length exceeds 20,000 miles. Of this length one-fourth consists of canals remarkable for their size.

After this review of material power, we may summarise the public debt of the British Empire. In this the first item is the regular debt of the Government, amounting to 769 millions sterling for the United Kingdom, and 293 millions for India and the Colonies, in all 1,062 millions. The amount

seems enormous, but, happily, we may doubt whether it is excessive for so great an empire as the British. The amount is equal to five times what we have seen to be the annual revenue and receipts. It is computed to represent only 9 per cent. of the capital wealth of the empire.

The interest payable on it amounts to 41 millions, or 20 per cent. on the income of the Government. If the income of the population of the empire be taken into account, and it can hardly be computed at less than 1,700 millions sterling, then this interest on the debt will represent only a minute fraction.

Besides this debt of the Government there are the local and municipal debts, contracted for the sake of material improvement. These debts amount to 153 millions for the United Kingdom, and certain amounts for India, which may bring up the total to 160 millions. To this should be added 90 millions raised on a Government guarantee for some of the railways in India.

Thus we reach a total of 1,312 millions sterling for the public debt, Governmental and municipal, for the British Empire.

A part of the Government debt raised in India is for State railways and canals ; this part amounts to 40 millions sterling.

But in these figures there are not included the 187 millions sterling raised by companies for railways in the United Kingdom.

The subject of crime cannot be treated completely in this summary, but it may be stated that in the empire 675,000 persons are convicted annually of crime, of which number more than nineteen-twentieths pertain to India. This number amounts to two in a thousand of the total population, which represents a moderate proportion.

The total number of persons in the prisons is about 145,000, of which 31,000 belong to the United Kingdom and 103,000 to India. In the former the number represents less than one in a thousand of the population, and in the latter only one in two thousand. The remainder pertains to other parts of the Empire.

In the United Kingdom, within the fifteen years between 1868 and 1882, the annual number of convictions in England fell from 15,033 to 11,699, and in Scotland from 2,490 to 1,944, notwithstanding the increase in population, indicating a satisfactory decrease in crime. The number of crimes reported approximates to that of convictions.

Two cognate matters must be mentioned in illustration of the condition of the people, namely, emigration and pauperism.

During the last half-century $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions of persons have emigrated from the United Kingdom, representing from 5 to 7 per cent. of the population. Out of this number 3 millions went to the colonies, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions to the United States. But this

does not represent the total of arrivals in the colonies, for during this time 650,000 went there from the continent of Europe.

There has also been a considerable emigration from India within the last ten years, 190,000 natives having left their country to found new Indias in the tropical regions of the British Empire.

In older countries like the United Kingdom pauperism is an evil and a sorrow from which younger communities are as yet exempt, and which has never existed in the East. In India there is no poor-law, and there are none who come under the technical designation of paupers; the destitute and infirm in that country are relieved by private charity without State intervention. Moreover, the unprecedented measures of relief undertaken by the Government during the recent famines have not at all pauperised the population. Nevertheless, the number of paupers under relief in the United Kingdom must be stated at one million, or rather less than one-thirtieth part of the population. The cost of their maintenance amounts to 10 millions sterling annually, and this notwithstanding the extensive emigration which has just been summarised. But during the last generation the number has fallen from $1\frac{1}{2}$ million to 1 million, while the expenditure has risen from 7 to 10 millions. Still, owing to increase of wealth, the burden is computed

to have fallen from three pence to two pence in the pound of the national income.

I shall conclude this summary by adverting to a group of subjects into which moral considerations largely enter, namely, thrift and education.

The savings banks in the British Empire have 90 millions sterling of deposits and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of depositors, of which numbers eight-tenths are in the United Kingdom, and the remainder in India and the Colonies. The amount, though absolutely great, is not extraordinary for so wide an empire.* The amount of 80 millions for the United Kingdom compares moderately well with the total amount for the continent of Europe, namely, 338 millions, but unfavourably with Germany and with some thrifty little nations like Switzerland or Scandinavia. The comparison is still more unfavourable in respect to the United States, where the savings have risen to the noble sum of 202 millions. On the other hand, the development in the British Empire of friendly societies (including provident building and registered societies) has been wonderful. The registered societies in the United Kingdom are 18,200 in number, have 5,800,000 members, and 56 millions

* In some of the colonies there appears to be some difficulty in discriminating the savings banks depositors from ordinary depositors.

sterling of funds. There are also many unregistered societies, of which the statistics are unknown; the addition of these would, it is believed, bring up the total to 7 millions of members, or one-fifth of the population. In Australia there are 880 such societies, with 55,000 members, and nearly a million sterling of funds. In Canada there are 40 societies with 80,000 members, and more than five millions sterling of funds. The average of funds per member is 9*l.* in the United Kingdom and 13*l.* in Australia, but in Canada it is very high, being 63*l.*

The amount of life-insurance, 423 millions sterling of policies in the United Kingdom, exceeds that of any other country, but hardly exists in India. But of fire insurance the amount in the United Kingdom is not remarkable.

The charitable expenditure in the British Empire can hardly be stated in full, but it is enormous. In the United Kingdom it amounts to more than 10 millions sterling annually, the income equalling this honourable sum. Of this income about one-fourth is derived from endowments consisting of real and personal property.

The number of indoor patients (irrespective of those who receive outdoor relief) in the charitable hospitals of the Empire is 450,000, of whom 145,000 belong to the United Kingdom, and 270,000 to India; the remainder belonging to other parts of the Empire. This number is not remarkable in

comparison with other nations. Indeed in the United Kingdom the poor-law organisation provides for many who would otherwise be in hospital.

In regard to the Post Office, the letters posted annually in the world are returned at 5,200 millions; of this total there are 1,500 millions, or 29 per cent., in the British Empire. This is a smaller proportion than might be expected, the cause being that letter-writing is still in its infancy in India. But in the United Kingdom the average of letters per inhabitant is greater than in any other country.

Respecting education, there are 5,250,000 pupils at school in the United Kingdom, 860,000 in Canada, 611,000 in Australia, and 2,200,000 in India, making up a total of 8,921,000 pupils in the British empire. The number, though large absolutely, appears very small for so vast a population. The fact is, that in India, although education has made a remarkable progress within the last generation, yet the lee-way to be made up was enormous, owing to the neglect of many centuries, and many children of a school-going age still remain out of school. The number in the United Kingdom compares moderately well with the continent of Europe, but unfavourably with some of the lesser kingdoms, where the progress is most satisfactory. But the comparison attains special interest when made with the United States, where a truly noble progress is exhibited, and where the number of

pupils reaches to 10 millions, the annual expenditure being 17 millions sterling. Doubtless the returns in the United States are more complete for the higher branches of education than in the United Kingdom, but that would not make any considerable difference in the comparison of such high figures as these. Thus the extraordinary fact remains, that in respect of educational statistics the United States are numerically in advance of even the British empire.

The religious missions to non-Christian nationalities constitute a bright feature in the British Empire. The statistics of the Roman Catholic missions are not fully known, but their operations are very considerable. The income of the various Protestant missionary societies is hardly less than three-quarters of a million sterling annually, and the number of European ordained missionaries maintained by them is about 900. This is exclusive of a considerable number of reverend missionaries employed within the British Empire by societies in the United States. The number of native Christians under their care, together with children at school, cannot be less than a million.

In conclusion, the summary under the three heads, the area of the empire, the inhabitants, and their works, has been presented. From it the following inferences are to be drawn regarding the British Empire.

The area of the British Empire is enormous, amounting to at least $8\frac{1}{2}$, perhaps even to 10, millions of square miles, or nearly one-fifth of the habitable globe. The lesser part only is cultivated or occupied, some portion being uncultivable; but the cultivable portion ready for cultivation or occupation is vast enough to support an indefinite increase of population.

The great length of coast line, mostly inhabited by a seafaring population, and dotted from point to point with large harbours, offers maritime advantages in an unequalled degree.

The population of the Empire, amounting to 305, perhaps to 315, millions of souls is vast. Still the imperial area is on the whole but sparsely populated, with an average of only thirty-three persons to the square mile, notwithstanding the mighty aggregate of the people, as the population is most unequally distributed, being extremely dense in some regions.

The lesser proportion of the population belongs to the Caucasian fair, dominant, and Christian race; the majority consists of the coloured Aryan Asiatic race, professing the Hindu and Muhammadan religions. The proportion of the Mongolian Buddhist race and of the aboriginal races is small; while the entire Hindu people, and half the Muhammadan world, are under the British crown.

Although in the United Kingdom the population is largely urban, still in the empire, as a whole, it is chiefly rural.

The total of yearly revenue and receipts, Governmental and local, amounting to 264 millions sterling, is unequalled, but falls at the moderate rate of $1\frac{1}{4}l.$ sterling per head of the total of British subjects.

Of the total sum collected by authority from the people, one-fourth is for local purposes, immediately concerning the rate-payers; three-fourths being for Governmental purposes.

Of the Governmental taxation one-fourth only is direct, such as land and property taxes; and three-fourths indirect, such as customs and excise, which grow by natural increment; but the local taxation is for the most part direct.

The armed forces, by sea and land, though numerically large, show a very moderate ratio to the area and population; the section of the people absorbed in military employ being extremely small, and the military expenditure, compared with the imperial revenue, being the cheapest in the world, with the exception of the United States.

The total of armed forces on land, nearly a million of men, is apparently great, though its unity and organisation are not complete. But the proportion (more than two-thirds of the whole), belonging to the fair or European races, is satisfactory.

By sea the number of ironclad war-vessels ready for action indicates a degree of naval preparedness hardly to be matched by foreign nations.

The total police force of all kinds is very moderate, indicating a peaceful and law-abiding disposition in the people.

The mercantile marine has nearly half of the steam tonnage, of the carrying power, of the port entries, and of the freight earnings of all the nations together, and two-thirds of the shipbuilding.

While the ocean-borne commerce of the United Kingdom is maintained at its maximum, that of India, though large, is relatively low, while that of the Colonies is amazingly high.

About one-third of the world's commerce is contained within the British Empire.

The average of ocean-borne commerce per inhabitant in the United Kingdom is considerably higher than in any other large State of the world, but is exceeded by the average of the busy little kingdoms of Belgium and Holland.

About one-third of the banking business of the world is done within the British Empire, justifying the claim of London to be the first of all banking centres.

The average of annual earnings per inhabitant in the United Kingdom is approached by that of its offspring in America, but is more than double that on the Continent of Europe.

In wealth, consisting of land and cattle, railways and public works, houses and furniture, shipping, merchandise, bullion, and sundries, the British Empire is the wealthiest State on earth, but its preponderance in this respect is not nearly so great as might be expected from the number of its population, because the wealth of India is relatively small.

The ratio of earnings on capital in the United Kingdom equals that of the United States, and exceeds that of the Continent of Europe. But it is surpassed by the ratio of Canada and Australia.

Respecting the aggregate of national industries—agriculture, commerce, banking, manufactures, mining—taken in combination, the United Kingdom is beginning to fall behind the United States, though the British Empire, on the whole, preserves the first place; but despite disparity of population the mother land still achieves nearly as much as its gigantic offspring, and the energetic genius of the progeny still survives in the parent.

The mileage of railways, on the whole, is not remarkable, being apparently small. But the work done by the railways is exceedingly great, far surpassing relatively that shown by any other nation, and the speed of the trains is generally greater.

The length and size of canals for navigation and for irrigation are unsurpassed.

The decrease of crime and of pauperism is satis-

factory in the United Kingdom, while pauperism hardly exists in the other dominions of the Empire, and the charitable funds raised in the United Kingdom are enormous.

The number of patients in the hospitals, though large, is not remarkable relatively to the size of the Empire.

Regarding thrift, the growth of savings banks is moderately great, being less than in some small European States, like Switzerland and Scandinavia, and much less than in the United States; but the development of Friendly and Provident Societies, and of life insurance, is probably greater than in any other nation.

The sum total of education is not great relatively to the Empire at large, mainly because India has much way to make up, the proportion there being behind that of Europe, and much behind that of the United States; but the results of the Post Office and the electric telegraph indicate an unequalled activity.

The efforts made in the United Kingdom for the support of religious missions to non-Christian nationalities are honourably sustained.*

* Since this paper was delivered in the middle of 1884, nearly half of New Guinea, and the Kingdom of Ava or Burma Proper, have been included in the Empire by the beginning of 1886.

CHAPTER II.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.*

Crown colonies and possessions—Colonies with responsible administration—Self-government in Canada, Australia, and South Africa—Colonial share in defence of the empire—Land forces of Canada—Local navy of Australia—Aid from Australia to mother country—Responsibility of the mother country for foreign policy and imperial defence—Question of union between mother country and Colonies respecting tariff—Various phases and aspects of that question—Special difficulties in North America—Commercial relations of England with the United States—Representation of the Colonies in the imperial councils—Project for central council of colonial delegates—Colonial agents-general in London—Preparation for ultimate federation politically—Meanwhile moral federation of sympathy.

IMPERIAL federation, what does it mean? That is our present question.

* Reprinted from the "Revue Internationale." Amsterdam, July, 1885.

This was the first article of the first number of a polyglot review issued in Amsterdam during the middle of 1885. The other articles are in various languages, German, French, and so on.

This question, though very extensive, is nevertheless more limited than might at first sight be supposed. Outside the United Kingdom the British Empire may be conveniently divided into two component parts, namely, first, that which consists of possessions such as British India, and Crown Colonies, as Ceylon, Guiana, and others; second, that which consists of colonies which have a responsible administration, and which may be styled, in general terms, self-governing or autonomous.

Now, to the first category our question does not apply. These wonderful possessions, containing a considerable portion of the human races, are not, and cannot be, federated with the United Kingdom in any strict sense of the term federation. They are defended by the central power in London, their external relations, and their internal administration, are all ultimately regulated by the same power. Though gradually trained to bear responsibility in local administration, they are not self-governing. Though subordinate actually to the United Kingdom, the most important of them pay nothing whatever in the shape of tribute. On the other hand, they bear their own charges and cost the imperial treasury nothing. There may be some exceptions, but such is the main rule.

But our question is applicable to the second category, which includes the self-governing Colonies, possessing a constitution sanctioned by the imperial

legislature. These are Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and some others. The list even thus limited is a goodly one, for these Colonies, though in their early youth nationally, are growing fast in population, in agriculture, in trade, in wealth, in social culture. The total number of their people, about eight millions, is already considerable, though very scanty in comparison to their area, amounting to about 7 millions of square miles. In these vast territories, after due abatement for uncultivable ground, there are immense tracts suitable for European habitation. It may be roughly computed that within a measurable time, say two or three centuries, these territories might contain 200 millions of souls.

I repeat, then, what does imperial federation imply in reference to these self-governing colonies?

All patriotic Englishmen approach this subject with a sentiment of the warmest sympathy. They remember that towards the close of the last century England possessed in North America a group of colonies finer even than anything now to be seen. Those she lost through errors, which, viewed in the light of present days, are clearly perceptible. Subsequently, by the sedulous avoidance of those errors, she has established a fresh colonial empire, which, if it shall happily be held together long enough, will equal or transcend the empire which was lost in North America. For, vast as are the

actual and possible proportions of the United States, they are exceeded by those of Canada, Australia, and South Africa in combination.

The relations between these three groups of Colonies and the mother country, though strong, are yet loose. They are in some respects definite and in other respects indefinite. The definiteness relates to the power of self-government which the Colonies possess,—this power is very definite indeed. The indefiniteness relates to the power of the mother country to control, a power which, even if it exists legally, is practically never exercised. The mother country will arrogate nothing to itself in respect to the Colonies, and will endeavour to preserve the connexion between the Anglo-Saxons at home and abroad in the most brotherly status. Nevertheless, as the Colonies grow larger and larger relatively to the mother country, the adjustment of these relations will become more and more important—under certain circumstances it might even become urgent. At present the total colonial population in proportion to the population of the United Kingdom is less than 1 to 4. Ere long it will be in the proportion of 1 to 3. In a generation or two it may perhaps be 1 to 2. As this proportion increases—and such increase must be anticipated with pleasure by all patriotic men—the international relations between parent and offspring must undergo some re-adjustment. This necessary change will be delicate as well

as difficult. Certainly it will be of momentous consequence to the future of the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world. It may involve complex and comprehensive arrangements which will be conducted happily and concluded successfully only if both of the high contracting parties shall have a wise disposition and a well-informed mind. It is therefore essential that public opinion on both sides should undergo a long preparation beforehand. Such a preparation consists in a diligent study of the circumstances affecting a colonial empire, which, though homogeneous in its elements, does yet consist of parts widely scattered and differently circumstanced. Hence thoughtful men must hail those movements which are meant to discuss this great problem, so that we may all undergo a process of self-education. At present, however, such movements do not advance beyond the stage of preparation. The discussion, though quite practical and in no sense academic, does not arrive at suggestions to which any immediate effect could be given. It is universally seen that something sooner or later (more probably later) will have to be done. But what that something should precisely be, no man can say. Nevertheless the time for doing it may come more suddenly than we think, and at all events cannot be indefinitely postponed. Unless forethought be exercised, the wrong thing may be attempted, in matters where

a mistake would be fatal. Meanwhile we have time still at our disposal for considering. And an examination of current suggestions or of possible proposals will show that the matter, though demanding discussion, is not ripe for decision nor ready for settlement.

These suggestions or proposals seem naturally to group themselves under three heads ;—

- I. Participation by the Colonies in the general defence of the empire on the condition that they have a voice in determining the imperial policy.
- II. Union between the mother country and the Colonies in respect of the tariff as affecting both fiscal and commercial arrangements.
- III. Representation of the Colonies in the imperial councils, either by including colonial members in the legislature of the United Kingdom, or by establishing a central assembly to consist of delegates from the several parts of the empire.

Many suggestions in detail have been made, but it will probably be found that they all fall under one or other of these main divisions. Now it will presently be seen that these questions, though looming nearer and nearer in the future, are not within the reach of immediate or even early action. They are not indeed outside the region of practical politics, for they relate to matters in which action

may some day have to be taken. But the situation is such that no measure could at this moment be devised to give effect to the principles which they involve.

Let us briefly examine each one of the three heads.

I. Participation by the Colonies in the general defence of the empire on the condition that they have a voice in determining the imperial policy.

The defence of Canada, Australia, and Southern Africa, in event of the British Empire being engaged in war, has always demanded the anxious forethought of British statesmen. This consideration, too, has of late become more urgent than ever, by reason of the expansion of several European Powers in several quarters of the world. Some Powers are founding what may be termed a colonial system. Other powers are acquiring fresh possessions or developing old possessions. Such acquisitions will bring these powers into closer proximity than before, or even into actual contact, with the British Colonies. This process, which is likely to be promoted rather than retarded by the course of events, will aggravate the dangers to which the British Empire is, from the nature of things, exposed. But from a British point of view there is gain as well as loss. For, in event of war, these Powers will have vulnerable points in their scattered possessions, on any or all of which England

might, if unhappily a belligerent, strike very effective blows. And it was recently remarked by one of the organs of European opinion that no power could now pursue a line of colonial ambition without having a good understanding with England. Still it is incumbent on England, as being the first of all colonial powers in the world, to recognise the defensive obligations which this grand position must impose on her.

Now it is manifest at the outset that the Colonies are by no means backward in such recognition, for they have taken, or are taking, measures for their own defence. For instance, the military arrangements of the Canadian Dominion are on a very considerable scale. The forces of Canada on her peace establishment bear a goodly proportion to her population. She has not as yet done much for the organisation of a local navy; but she could do this if necessary, in a short time, as her maritime resources are large. Australia has already established a local navy; and she has recently afforded signal proof of the readiness with which her military means can be brought into action. It is therefore certain that in event of war the Colonies will in self-defence evince all the energy and capacity of their Anglo-Saxon race. Such a contingency would indeed produce a salutary effect on public opinion throughout the world, as proving, so to speak, the warlike potentiality of the British colonies. But

the Colonies will do more than this. They will, *ex proprio motu*, furnish military assistance to the mother country for war in regions not in contact with, or in proximity to, the colonial possessions. If the mother country were to be at all pressed by any combination of enemies, she might rely on all the aid which her Colonies could possibly spare. On the other hand it is manifest that the mother country would do her very utmost to defend and protect her Colonies as her own limbs and as parts of her body politic. This mutual sympathy between the mother country and her Colonies in the presence of common danger will prove to be a factor in the politics of the world.

All this does, no doubt, amount to much, very much. Still it eventually falls short of an imperial arrangement whereby the mother country and the Colonies would participate in the general defence, according to some fixed proportion, say the proportion of their respective populations, or some other proportion which might be devised. Such an arrangement too must have its corollary. For in that case the Colonies must have a share proportionably in determining the imperial policy out of which the occasion for defence, that is, actual war, would arise. Now, let any one who is acquainted with colonial opinion say whether the Colonies are at all prepared for any such arrangement as yet? Surely they are not. It is one thing to prepare for self-

defence, to have locally a defensive organisation, to offer according to means and opportunity some military assistance to the mother country. It is quite another thing to accept a share in so arduous, and possibly so burdensome, an affair as the general defence of the British Empire. If asked, the Colonies would say at once that they could not undertake a share in such an enterprise, that the responsibility with its concomitant burdens would be too much for them, that they were nationally still in their youth, that they would maintain their own ground for themselves and for the empire, that they hoped to be able from time to time to contribute something towards imperial war, that they could not define such contribution as a matter of obligation, that they must continue mainly to rely on the external support of the mother country, towards which they felt a filial attachment. Nor would their objection to undertaking such a share be mitigated by the prospect of having a voice in imperial questions of war and peace. Such a participation in imperial power would hardly be regarded by them as a compensative advantage. They take indeed a brotherly interest in all the contests waged by the Anglo-Saxon race anywhere, and in all the dangers that may menace that wide-spread nationality. They watch with keenly observant eyes the progress of political events in Europe, and the changes which such events may produce in Asia and Africa. But

they would leave the action in these affairs to be decided by herself alone, and they do not care to give her any responsible advice on these grave subjects. She must be solely answerable for the action taken, and for the consequences resulting therefrom to the empire of which she is the head. In plain language it comes to this, that at present the Colonies would not engage to bear any fixed share in the burden of imperial defence, and would not care to have a voice in the imperial policy out of which the necessity for such defence might arise. Such apparently is the present situation, though it may soon change as the Colonies grow and as imperial events unfold themselves. And ultimately it must change when the relative size of the mother country and of the Colonies shall become very different to what it now is.

We next come to :

II. Union between the mother country and the Colonies in respect to the tariff as affecting both fiscal and commercial arrangements.

In this respect there probably is not any one fixed idea in the minds of those who make suggestions of this nature. There seem to be several ideas which tend however in the same direction. The general tenour appears to be this, that the British Empire can produce food enough for its vast population composed of many races of mankind, and can with the products, natural and artificial, of its numerous

regions provide for all the complex needs of that population. Why not then have a great tariff league, whereby the United Kingdom would admit duty free all articles—mainly food and certain other raw materials—from the Colonies and the imperial possessions, excluding by tariff similar articles from other countries; and whereby on the other hand the Colonies would admit duty free the manufactures of the United Kingdom, excluding by tariff similar articles from other countries. Thus there would be a self-sufficing and a self-sustaining empire, deriving its prosperity from itself alone, and so independent as to do without commercial intercourse with other nations. Logically and consistently this would be the legitimate conclusion of the suggestion. But such a conclusion appears at once to be too strong and too absolute. Consequently modifications are introduced into the suggestion, and for the setting forth of these a somewhat complicated exposition would be required. One of the modified suggestions, for example, would be this, that the United Kingdom should admit, duty free, food and raw material from the Colonies or the imperial possessions, and refrain from asking in return that the Colonies should admit, duty free, the manufactures of the United Kingdom, which is somewhat one-sided. Or again, there may be a suggestion that food only should be admitted duty free, but that the privilege should not be extended to raw mate-

rial, as for instance, Australian wool, and so on ; which is also somewhat one-sided. *Primâ facie*, some special interest attaches itself to these suggestions, because it is the fact that Canada and India could raise enough surplus grain to supply the needs of the United Kingdom, which notoriously does not raise enough food for the consumption of its population. Other suggestions, varying in form or in expression, may have been, or may yet be, offered. But, if looked at practically, they will be found to mean something of the same sort, and to lead towards the same end.

In the first place, the Colonies would probably not object to a tariff in the United Kingdom which admitted their food products duty free and imposed prohibitory duties on food products coming from other countries. This would raise the price of the food products they sell, which they would like well enough, so far as they were concerned, while they left the United Kingdom to judge as to whether that suited its people or not. But then the Colonies would not, perhaps could not, offer any reciprocity. As is well known, they have, in the exercise of their unquestioned right, devised tariffs protecting their nascent and growing manufactures, and to some extent excluding the corresponding manufactures of other countries, as well as of the United Kingdom. These tariffs may not have been directed against the United Kingdom, but they affect it in

common with other countries. The principle of the tariffs is styled protection of native industries, and in support of it a local party has grown or is growing up. In some colonies this party is potentially strong. At present the Colonies would probably decline to take off the duties now imposed on British manufactures, even though in return the United Kingdom offered to admit their goods duty free, to the exclusion of similar goods from other nations. Some colonies would certainly refuse, in deference to the protectionist interests that have sprung up.

In one important colony, namely Canada, the matter is further complicated by the fact that the local manufactures, if they are to be protected at all, need protection against the manufactures of the United States quite as much as against the manufactures of the United Kingdom.

On the whole, let any one who knows North America say whether it would be safely possible to enact a differential tariff, favourable to the admission of Canadian food-grains into the United Kingdom, and prohibitory to the admission of food-grains from the United States? Let any one think upon the disturbance of our commercial relations with the United States which might result from such an attempt. We should never forget that from these States we obtain the article which, next



after our food, is one of the most vital to us, namely, cotton.

Moreover, any convention of this nature between the mother country and the Colonies, establishing artificial relations, might after all prove but temporary. For it is possible that some day the Colonies may *ex proprio motu* adopt free trade. As their cultivation extends, and as their rural population grows, there will be many people objecting to be taxed on their articles of consumption, and to pay more than the things are worth, in order that certain sectional interests may prosper. Already there is, for instance, a free-trade party within the Canadian Dominion.

Furthermore, such conventions between the United Kingdom and the Colonies would necessarily be complex, and their working would be difficult in practice. It is but too painfully easy to foresee that differences of opinion might arise on this or that clause, on this or that rate of duty. Both sides would be entering on delicate considerations, and treading on thorny ground. Then it is melancholy to reflect how quickly a dispute, even a rupture, might arise. Surely it were prudent to abstain from measures which might incidentally have the effect of setting up difficulties, or of arousing troubles now happily dormant.

Of course there are some well-intentioned thinkers

in the United Kingdom who would hail a differential tariff favouring the admission of food-grains from the Colonies and excluding the food-grains from the United States or elsewhere,—because that would be a modified form of protection to British agriculture, as it would keep out the largest of our agricultural competitors, namely, the United States. But this point is outside our discussion, which refers only to the relations between the mother country and the Colonies.

Thus it is seen that a union of commercial tariffs between the mother country and the Colonies is not, under present circumstances, practicable.

So we arrive at the third head, namely, III. Representation of the Colonies in the imperial councils either by including colonial members in the legislature of the United Kingdom or by establishing a central assembly to consist of delegates from the several parts of the empire.

This is a question very likely to arise in the future, when the Colonies shall have become much larger than they now are relatively to the United Kingdom. Meanwhile it is difficult to devise anything that could be effected nowadays.

It is, of course, conceivable that a certain number of members might be elected by the Colonies to serve in the British House of Commons, and such men would no doubt bring a valuable accession of knowledge and experience. Their patriotism, too,

would be of a comprehensive character, and their presence would help to lift the national debates beyond the boundaries of the British Isles. Nevertheless, any such proposal would be fraught with constitutional difficulties. Being themselves necessarily colonial, these members would be assisting to vote on expenditure to be defrayed, and taxes to be paid, not by the Colonies but by the people of the United Kingdom. And to that the British sentiments might prove to be absolutely opposed. In the presence of this grave objection, it were hardly worth while to advert to the lesser objection, against adding to the numbers of the House, which are already thought to be too large. A local objection might be raised to the effect that such members, after being elected in the Colonies, might soon cease to represent opinion, which changes fast in young countries. They would indeed have to seek re-election together with each change in the colonial parliament, and then they would represent colonial opinion just as much as the members of the colonial parliament itself.

The difficulty in respect to the House of Commons would not be applicable to the House of Lords. Life-Peers from the Colonies might perhaps be appointed to the Upper House without any constitutional difficulty being raised; and here again an infusion of fresh thought would be obtained for the imperial councils. This plan might be bene-

ficial so far as it went. But manifestly it would go but a very short way towards federating the mother country and the Colonies.

As to establishing an Imperial Council to consist of delegates from different parts of the empire, this measure may come in time, but apparently the time is not near, nor can any one say how distant it may be. Manifestly the circumstances of the empire are not mature for this plan. What would be the questions referable to such a council? Primarily those relating to peace and war, and to the imperial policy on which warlike contingencies or peaceful solutions may depend. But it has just been seen that the Colonies would not care to take part in the responsibility for such policy, especially if that were to imply the bearing of a part in the burden. If any scheme of tariff union were to be taken up, that would of course pertain to such a council. But it has been seen that the difficulties in the way of the scheme would be almost insuperable. On the whole, any one who reflects on the existing British government by Crown, Lords, and Commons, will at once perceive how remote must be the prospect of establishing an imperial council of this character. The thing may come to pass ultimately, but the aspect of affairs must first change greatly.

As a sort of tentative preparation for constituting such a council hereafter, there is the proposal to form a council consisting of the Colonial Agents

General residing in London. Doubtless each Agent General would well represent the opinions of his colony and of its Government by whom he had been appointed to his important office. And, by associating the several Agents General in one deliberative body, a centre or focus of colonial opinion would be created. From this source valuable advice and information would from time to time or on special occasions be obtained by the British Government and Parliament. Still the number of its members would be very limited, and there would be some difficulty in determining its functions and duties. At the best this measure would be but a preliminary step towards imperial federation.

The principal measures which have been or could be proposed for imperial federation have thus been briefly considered. It is readily seen that they are not immediately practicable. Some of them comprise administrative principles of the highest interest and importance. Some again are surrounded with difficulties of a politico-economic character. The discussion of the subject to which they all relate will be fruitful in good results. For it helps the public mind to school itself and to train its thoughts for grasping the problems of the future. No one who surveys the colonial empire of which England is the head, and forecasts the grand career that lies before the three coming nations, the Canadian, the

Australian, and the South African,—all of Anglo-Saxon blood in the main, though containing other European elements—can doubt that ultimately some change must supervene in the relations between the mother country and these gigantic off-shoots. If such a change is to be brought about amicably and peacefully, in consonance with the wishes of all concerned, in accordance with the wonderful traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race, then a long preparation is necessary, long in reference to the life of nations, and therefore extending over many years, perhaps over one or two generations. If a lengthened period is anticipated before a satisfactory termination can be reached, that is all the greater reason why a beginning should be made without delay. This preparatory work is being usefully and efficiently performed under those who by speaking, by writing, or by forming societies, promote the discussion of imperial federation. Though they may not succeed at present in devising recommendations capable of being carried out soon, yet they deserve well of their country and may claim the friendly wishes of every one, in that they are gradually tilling the soil on which good seed will be sown hereafter.

Meanwhile, affairs are moving smoothly for the empire. As an eminent British statesman is recently reported to have said, there is truly a moral federation in mind and heart between the mother

country and her colonies. This sympathy between nations of the same blood, language, history, laws, literature, associations, and traditions, does indeed constitute a bond which will prove to be a chain-cable for the imperial ship. Such a tie is stronger than anything which constitutions can create, or legislatures can enact, or compacts can secure. May be it will some day be tested by the stress of peril affecting the whole empire. Then it will doubtless prove to be true as steel. It will emerge as pure metal from the fiery trial. But if, under a good Providence, peace throughout the world shall be maintained, then the union between Britain, the birth-place of modern freedom, and her colonies, will be steadily developed in adaptation to the progress of events, and will constitute a new phase in social and national existence, thereby affording an example to all mankind.

CHAPTER III.

NORTH-WEST CANADA.*

Excursion of British Scientists to the Rocky Mountains—
 Account of the country—The Lone Land—The scenery—The
 mineral resources—The Prairie—The soil—The pasturage—
 Agriculture—Labour supply—The farms—The climate—
 Arboriculture—The towns—Communication by land and
 water—The tariff—Condition of the people—Immigration—
 Feeling in England regarding Canada.

† I AM sure that much of what I am about to say
 must be already familiar to you, but one finds in

* Speech delivered before the Citizens of Winnipeg, September 1884, on the visit of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

† This speech was delivered in the Winnipeg Opera House. Mr. Norquay, the Premier of Manitoba, presided; Mr. Aikins the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Brown the Public Works Minister, Mr. Logan the Mayor, and Mr. Taylor the United States Consul, were present. Inasmuch as the address was given at the request of the citizens, was subject to the criticism of an audience of experts respecting local information, and was republished by Winnipeg publicists, we may be sure of the correctness of the particulars here presented.

travelling over your magnificent country so much to talk about, that I almost feel under an obligation to you for affording me this opportunity of relieving myself of the burden of good things I have to say about you. As having had a prominent part in the Excursion of British Scientists to the Rocky Mountains, and having been asked to act as representative of the Excursionists on this occasion, I rejoice to comply with your invitation to tell you what we have done, seen, and heard.

I purpose dividing my subject into eighteen heads, with each of which I shall deal separately. The first I shall speak of is

THE EXCURSION.

of a section of the British Association to the Rocky Mountains. It started from Montreal, and extended to the highest ridge of the Rocky Mountains, and to the border of British Columbia. It thus crossed Manitoba and the North-west of Canada. Going and returning it covered a distance—with diversions and divergencies—of nearly three thousand miles; the whole distance being accomplished by railways and steamers. Thus it was one of the longest, if not the longest, excursion ever undertaken, and in that respect was suitable to the land in which it was made. The excursionists were about one hundred in number, and were all men of more than ordinary culture. Now that they are no longer present, I

may say about them what I had not dared to say to their faces, that they are a thoroughly accomplished, learned, and scientific body of men. They proceeded most carefully, thoroughly, and conscientiously, and saw everything that could possibly be brought within the range of their vision in the most complete manner. Among them were many who carry weight at home, and whose opinions are listened to throughout England. Therefore you can judge whether it is not a great advantage to this country, in the present state of public opinion, to have such a cloud of witnesses now returning to England—men who have faith in the North-west of Canada, and who will give before all England a scientific reason for the faith that is in them. I know their reports will be favourable in the extreme. We came here with high anticipations, and those anticipations have been more than fulfilled. We were quite struck with admiration of all we saw and heard, and I am quite sure our evidence will be satisfactory to the well-wishers of the North-west in the highest degree. It should, however, be remembered that we have, after all, hardly seen the best of the country. We have seen what might be called the southern section, but we have heard that there is another section still finer, grander, and richer. What would have been our admiration if we could have seen the glorious whole? Nevertheless we have heard on authentic

evidence of the greatness of the northern region; and we can measure its greatness by considering what we have actually seen.

THE LONE LAND A LAND OF PROMISE.

I beg to refer, secondly, to the remarkable contrast presented, the beautiful country until recently called "the Lone Land," now being considered a land of promise. It is but a very few years since the places which are now the haunts of civilisation were the runs and wallowing places of herds of buffaloes. The country is vast. The popular idea in England now is that the North-west of Canada could sustain a population of 100,000,000 of Anglo-Saxons. I do not know exactly how they got the figure of 100,000,000; nevertheless it is very possible that this may be realised in the not very remote future. Indeed, considering the cultivable area of the North-west, including both the North-west Provinces and Manitoba, which can hardly be less than a million square miles, and reckoning a population of 100 to the square mile, which is not a high average, the result would be a total population of 100,000,000, one hundred millions. This vast area may fairly be compared with some of the neighbouring States of North America, fully equaling probably that of Dakota, Idaho, Minnesota, and Washington, which are constituting a land of promise to our American kinsmen.

I proceed to the next head of my discourse, namely,

THE SCENERY.

The scenery of the prairie impressed all the excursionists with its vastness. There is a beauty in mere immensity; although the surface of the ground be not diversified, yet it is a wonderful sight to see the sun rise and set on a tract perfectly level on all sides—as it were an ocean of vegetation—or to watch the moon shed her dim radiance over the immensity of solitude, while the train rushes over the seemingly limitless steppe. The approach to the Rocky Mountains from the prairie is perhaps the most remarkable in the world. I do not want to give exaggerated ideas. People here probably think the Rocky Mountains the greatest in the British empire, but the British empire is a very large area. They are scarcely more than a third as high as the Himalaya. Nevertheless the approach to them from the prairie is truly wonderful; for they rise as masses of rock right out of the prairie. During the greater part of the year they are covered with snow. Even now, at the end of summer, their peaks are mainly snow-capped. As we approached the mountains we actually saw about 150 miles of continuous snow-clad hills, which, rising straight out of the prairie, constitute a sight that is almost, if not quite unique. There is only one parallel to it—namely, the approach to the

Caucasus from the steppes of Russia, and even this is not so fine, as there is first a range of low hills, then another a little higher, and again above all the summits of the snow-clad peaks of Caucasus. Perhaps at some future time I may give a lecture upon the scenery and topography of the Rocky Mountains, but for the present I must confine myself to the remark that the effect of all this scenery upon the minds of those who live in that region is very impressive.* I believe that the contemplation of this magnificent scenery—magnificent in extent at least—has a very elevating effect upon the Anglo-Saxon mind, enlarging the ideas, brightening the imagination, and elevating the sentiments. In the addresses which we received from Colonists on the way there was a loftiness of expression almost amounting to grandiloquence, to which I had hardly been accustomed in the addresses which I have seen in other portions of the British empire. The wonders I have described are wonders of nature, but to our British eyes and patriotic

* Besides the almost unique beauty of the *coup d'œil* of the Rocky Mountains from near Calgary, the views inside the mountains are exceedingly fine. Rivers wind through fir-topped walls of rock, the landscape being completed by snowy ridges. Lakes are embosomed in the mountains, with precipices on their sides, or with dense fir-forests reaching to the water's edge, and snow-clad peaks with glaciers,—all reflected on the glassy surface.

minds the finest of all wonders was the spectacle of Anglo-Saxon British-Canadian enterprise spreading itself over the surface of this vast country, and writing its marks in letters of flame, as it were, upon the book of nature.

THE MINERAL RESOURCES.

Some of the mineral resources we have not seen. I allude particularly to the iron ore, of which we have observed specimens at the Exhibition in Winnipeg; but we have seen something and heard much of the coal resources. I believe there are coal-mines within a short distance of the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I understand that these essential resources are easily within the reach of enterprise, and that there is quite on the line, that is, within a hundred yards of it, superior lignite which will burn very well when mixed with bituminous or anthracite coal. When these coal-mines are worked you will be independent of Pittsburg and other places in the United States in respect of coal, and I need not say that this will be a great advantage.

THE PRAIRIE.

The prairie will gradually become a thing of the past in this part of Canada. In that respect it is following the example of the herds of buffalo, and of the poor Indians who are receding before the face of the white man. When we left Winnipeg we

saw a few miles of real prairie; owing, we were told, to the fact that the lands were in the hands of speculators, who were reserving them for future use. When we got beyond this limited area we really saw no prairie at all for several hundred miles when we crossed the Saskatchewan. I mean that we never passed for a mile together on the plain, without seeing a homestead, or field, or the marks of human occupation. It was only when we crossed the Saskatchewan that we saw real prairie, and then it was only so in a modified sense. From the moment the homesteads and golden harvest-fields ceased, the cattle-ranches* began. I understand that almost the whole area from the Saskatchewan to the foot of the mountains is really in the hands of the cattle-ranchers. Here again we saw signs of the Anglo-Saxon, in his cattle and his herds. The vegetation of the prairie, so far as we were able to see it in the intervals of uncultivated land, was not remarkable, but still was very rich. Some of the more enthusiastic of the party said it was the richest wild vegetation they had ever seen; but I think this was due to their enthusiasm, because the vegetation in the steppes of Russia is quite as rich, if not richer. Still, the flora of this country is such as to promise an abundant return for agricultural labour.

* Ranch is a local name for pasture-land or grazing-ground.

I now approach the subject of agriculture.

THE SOIL.

Almost everywhere we saw rich soil. Most of us expected that we would find tracts of arid waste, or that if we saw rich soil it would be largely interspersed with specimens of gravel, rock, and ground not suitable for cultivation; but this idea proved entirely wrong, for I declare without exaggeration that on the whole way from Winnipeg to the foot of the Rocky Mountains—a distance of 1000 miles—there is hardly a foot of ground that did not seem to be capable of being turned to human use. Estimating the distance to the foot of the Rockies at a thousand miles, there is for this distance one unbroken area of land more or less fertile, and capable of being turned to the advantage of man.

PASTURAGE.

Most of our excursionists are of opinion that the pasturage is splendid and thoroughly suited for cattle; we were surprised that we did not see sheep as well. The grass is not very long, indeed, but still promises a rich reward to the hay-cutter. The cattle generally seem to be quite healthy, and of very good breeds, many of them coming from the neighbouring States of America, and apparently bred from some of the best stock in England. Sometimes complaints are heard in England that

Canadian and American cattle-dealers purchase some of the best English animals, but it is not to be regretted, as a high price has to be paid for them. We were all impressed with the necessity of being careful about cattle diseases. We heard much on the way regarding diseases that had broken out among cattle in various parts of the United States, reminding us of what has been in England; but we heard that Canada was free from them. By all means take precautions to prevent their importation. I speak feelingly upon the subject, because in England they have recently failed to prevent the importation of diseased cattle, and the losses in consequence have been incalculable. We excursionists inquired a good deal as to ensilage, as that food for animals is becoming so fashionable in the United States and is being introduced into England; but we were told that no such food was necessary, because the supply furnished by nature is so very abundant.

AGRICULTURE.

I wish to speak of two kinds of crops, cereals and roots. Cereals are grown upon many farms exclusively; some of the greatest farms in the country are wheat-farms almost entirely. We saw in many parts of the country specimens or exhibits of the products of the farm. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company has set a very excellent example

by having model or pattern farms close along the line of railway, to show what the country is capable of producing. In inspecting these, while we found nothing to equal the monster cabbages shown at the Exhibition here in Winnipeg, yet we saw good turnips and potatoes. We heard in England that there would be great difficulty in growing wheat at the altitude of North-west Canada, it being too high above the sea, but this idea was entirely falsified by what we saw, for Canadian wheat grows well 2,000 feet above the sea; at Calgary at 3,000 feet, and at Padmore at 3,500 feet. Hence there is nothing in the altitude of this country to prevent wheat being grown on an immense scale. We inquired of farmers regarding many things which we have at home, namely, rotation of crops periodically, manuring and weeding, and we were laughingly told these things might be very necessary in the old country, but were not required in this new land. The same crop, it is said, has been grown year after year from the land without injury. Manure, it is said, is not necessary in the virgin ground which accumulates so many advantages and has such riches in the soil, the subsoil, and the soil underneath that, so that the crops will grow without manure. As to weeds, it is said that there are none of consequence. We asked about the ploughing, and said that we had to plough very deep in the old country. We were told that nothing of the kind was necessary here, that if the

ground was just scratched over, crops would grow. We were told these things by practical men. The virgin soil here is a very abundant inheritance which has come down from what might be called a geological period, thousands of years having looked down upon these beautiful plains. The consequence is that, for the time, many of the old-world devices, such as deep ploughing, manuring, weeding, and rotation of crops, can be dispensed with.

LABOUR.

The want of labourers is a great difficulty in the interior of the North-west, and has had this effect upon the farmers, that it has compelled them to exercise their wits, and employ machinery to save labour. The agricultural machinery and implements in this country are among the most remarkable things to be seen. Every kind of implement and machine is there at work—with all their rough-sounding names, as scufflers, harrows, reapers, mowers, threshers, and the like—forming a most gratifying spectacle. We have seen them in the fields at work, in the towns outside the shops for sale, and inside the factories being repaired. The sight would make an old-world man first laugh, and then feel envious. I will give one single example. In England when we have reaped the grain we have to stack it in order that it may harden, and after that we thresh it. The Canadian farmer

does nothing of the kind. He brings the threshing machine to bear upon the sheaves, furnished ready to his hand by the harvesting machine. Then, having threshed the wheat, he stores it for the time in a temporary wooden structure in the field, and there he allows the grain to remain and harden until the snow falls deep and becomes fit for sleighing. Then he draws it easily over the hard snow to an elevator, from which it is shot into railway cars placed beneath and carried away for exportation. The ingenuity, convenience, and rapidity of the process gives the new world a great advantage over the old world. The consequence of this machinery and the labour-saving appliances is that the average cultivation per head, or the cultivated area per man, is extremely high. One would be inclined to say there must be a considerable population, judging from the area of cultivation, but, on the contrary, there are only a few thousands of Anglo-Saxons settled in the country. The fact is the average of acres of cultivation per head is several times as great as in the old world, every man having many acres under command, owing to the labour-saving appliances.

THE FARMS.

Some of the farms are great, extending over many square miles of wheat cultivation absolutely unbroken by any fence or hedge. Nevertheless, we had the pleasure of seeing many small farms in the

best cultivated districts. At Portage la Prairie we understood that small farmers owned the land and worked upon it with their own hands. The farm-houses are well built, well aired, and I understand well warmed in winter; and are very comfortable, both within and without. As to cottages, we asked for them, but there are no cottages, because there are few men so humble in the social scale as to require them. The country is without farm-labourers, as the colonist does his own labour. Around the houses of the peasant proprietors we saw kitchen gardens with cabbage beds, turnip beds, and the like, just enough for the farmers' families. There is a good supply of fuel, though one might expect that on the prairie there would be nothing but grass or vegetation. Fortunately, there is low scrubby bush, suited for fuel. The soil is entirely suited for the making of excellent bricks. To the great advantage of the farmers, there are small limestones scattered over the plains, from which stones excellent lime for masonry can be obtained.

The subject of land speculation has attracted a great deal of unfavourable notice through the press. I have heard something of it in England, and still more in Montreal, but, after all, my impression is that the story must have been greatly exaggerated. With a vast area, a far-sighted Government, and a wise people enjoying popular representation, you should make provision for the future, so as not to allow the land to get too much

into the hands of individuals or corporations. From the experience of the old country in reference to the springing up of communism, Canada should take care to prevent anything of the kind happening here. While the State is generous, giving land without stint or grudge to every good applicant who asks for it, nevertheless, the community ought to keep something in its own hands. It seems to me that that duty has as yet been fairly performed ; at all events it has not been left unperformed in the way some people imagine. As to the land concession of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, it should be remembered that without that concession the railway could not have been constructed. I find that the whole of the land has not been made over to the Company, but only alternate blocks, the intervening ones belonging to the State ; and that the total is but a fraction of the vast area of the neighbouring tracts. Remarks have been made about this railway company having in its turn made a landed concession to a great Land Company, but I find that this is only a small part of the land at the disposal of the State to give away or make disposition of, as it may see fit, according to the wants of the coming generation. Hence I shall feel bound to say in England that no essential harm has been done by land concessions ; and it is only fair to the Government and the Administration to declare this.

THE CLIMATE.

One objection in England against North-west Canada is that of the winter. The summers are known to be hot, but this the people are not so much afraid of as they are of the supposed length, dreariness, and wretchedness of the winters. I believe, from inquiry, that this description of your winter came from the portions of country lying under the Rocky Mountains, where the chinook winds make the winters somewhat like those of England, which are proverbially dull. In the rest of the country the winters are rather bright and cheery. The snow falls and hardens on the ground, and there is bright weather, with blue sky overhead, so that the people walk about with the utmost facility, and on the whole have a cheerful time in the winter. In many parts of the country the residents tell me that the winter is the nicest season they have. From your very kind applause I judge that this description is correct, and if so, it is very important that such a description should be known at home, for the prevailing impression there is doing some harm to emigration.

TREE CULTURE.

Some say that the summer is somewhat too dry, but, if so, the drouth might be mitigated by planting trees. The experience of every part of the

globe proves that where the trees are swept away drouth follows, but, where they are planted copiously, the earlier and the later rains are vouchsafed in due season. If the farmers and settlers would take precaution by planting trees, either in groves, or, better still, in long-stretching avenues, they would have the rains in good time. If arboriculture is to be successfully carried out, you must be careful to select those trees that will grow, because great harm has been done to the theories of arboriculturists by selecting unsuitable trees. Not those which have their roots deep down in the ground, but those which spread out their roots, as the poplar and maple ash, are the trees for the prairie. The heavy, long-continued snow and severe frost are great aids to the farmer. In England we have to sow in the autumn, and farmers have to look after their land, sown with so much labour and expense, all through the winter. All sowing here is, however, done in the spring, and that is an advantage. During the long winter the snow prepares the ground, and the timely frost pulverises the clay and renders it suitable for the plough. In the last two or three winters in England there has been very little frost, and one great pulverising agency was lost, which you here never fail to enjoy. At the Montreal meeting of the British Association a Canadian professor read what was on the whole one of the most remarkable

papers that I have heard in regard to tree-planting, showing how, with special reference to the Northwest, on every farm a grove of trees might be planted, with little patches here and there, so as to interrupt the breezes blowing from every quarter, and demonstrating how this would improve the climate, mitigate the severity of the winter, and afford shelter in every way. He illustrated all this by carefully drawn diagrams.

I hope the principles which have been thus enforced by practical science will be adopted by your farmers. Then you ought to try to preserve the primeval forest which still remains. It is the universal testimony of all Canadians that these forests are being recklessly cut without regard to the future. The forests which we have seen between here and Lake Superior and at the Rocky Mountains are poor ones, but we understand there are magnificent forests farther to the north. There is a consensus of opinion among all Canadians that these forests are being used up without regard to future requirements; and there is an equal consensus that nothing effectual has been done by any Legislature or Government throughout the Dominion for the preservation of the forests. We could not but accept the report which we have received from competent witnesses. If it is true I will venture to utter one word of warning as to the consequences which must result to Canada if

the fatal policy is pursued. Forests are very consumable things. Like the herds of wild buffaloes which disappear before the white man, they will disappear before the wood-cutter if precautions are not taken to prevent it. I have seen several examples of whole regions desolated by deforesting. It is too fatally possible to uproot the trees in such a manner that in a few years no trace of them will be left. What made the prairie? Do you suppose that it was made so by the hand of God? It has no doubt been covered with trees of a certain height, but probably by forest fires. The broad plains which were once clothed with timber, as a sheep's back with fleece, are now desolate. I am not speaking for the sake of England, but for the sake of Canada. England will never want for wood. In Scandinavia, which is separated from Britain by only a narrow sea, there is the most magnificent forest preservation in the world. I have recently travelled over the whole of Norway and Sweden, and the system of forest conserving has filled me with envy and admiration. There is no trace of fires, and no reckless cutting; and everything is done methodically and scientifically. I saw the old forests and the new ones coming up; and everything is provided for the use of the present and the prospects of the future. Now, Canada not only supplies the North-west, but also exports a large quantity to England; and it would be a

melancholy thing to see her lumber trade pass into the hands of Scandinavia, owing to the neglect of Canadians themselves. Then, besides, you would have to use expensive stone and masonry for many purposes for which you now use wood. Every member of the British Association thinks as I have expressed in regard to this matter, and they have done everything they could at the Montreal meeting to ventilate the subject.

THE TOWNS.

I will not undertake to describe Winnipeg; but we have seen the various towns along the railway, inspecting Portage la Prairie, Brandon, Qu'Appelle, Medicine Hat, Moose Jaw, and Calgary; and I will add, Regina and Broadview. I am bound to congratulate you heartily on the condition of those rising places. Truly it is wonderful the manner in which these towns have sprung up. The streets are well laid out, and the houses are clean and tidy and picturesque in their architecture. Villas are springing up in the suburbs, and every villa has a cordon of trees rising up around it. We have observed the schools, the churches, the banks, and civic buildings, and various other institutions; and we have seen also the shops full of all the paraphernalia of civilisation. We have been particularly struck with the stocks of agricultural machinery already mentioned. Altogether the con-

dition of those places is most satisfactory. We observed also in many places factories, and in every direction perceived signs of what might be truly called culture. I congratulate the people of Winnipeg on the Exhibition here. Culture was exactly the thing which was most likely to prove wanting in a young community. But the manner in which the Exhibition has been got up, the variety and beauty of the objects exhibited, and the careful and scientific manner in which they have been displayed, are eminently creditable to this community, and show that you are reaching culture in the truest sense of the term. I think the British Association may be congratulated on the fact that it was for their honour and edification that the citizens of Winnipeg kindly undertook to get up this Exhibition. If our coming to Winnipeg has no other result than this of inducing you to organise that Exhibition, we have been instrumental in doing good to you as well as to ourselves in rendering our visit memorable.

COMMUNICATION BY LAND AND WATER.

It would be like gilding fine gold if I were to praise the Canadian Pacific Railway before you in Winnipeg. Generally in Canada the railway administration is not thought by outsiders to be one of the strong points of the country. The fact is, that in the new country, with a vast area and a scanty popu-

lation, railways are extended beyond the power of managing them up to the standard of the United States, or more particularly that of England. The Canadian Pacific Railway seems to be an exception. The kindness and consideration shown by the Company to us excursionists quite surpass my feeble power of expressing thankfulness. Passing by one or two accidents, beyond the control of any person or persons, I am bound to give the most favourable testimony regarding the management of that great railway. But we are anxious to impress upon you the consideration that the Canadian Pacific Railway* is only the beginning of the vast railway system, nothing more or less than the main artery from which must branch out many veins—the backbone of the body politic, the limbs, arms, toes, and fingers being yet to come. The Canadian Pacific Railway runs through a rich country, but still not the richest—the richest country is far to the north, and to that country branches must hereafter extend.

Critics say that the main line ought to have been taken farther north; but no doubt the wisest course has been followed, because the main trunk runs nearly as straight as an arrow from ocean to ocean.

* Subsequently this railway (which in 1884 was opened only to the British Columbian frontier) has been completed right through that territory to the coast. Thus there is now through traffic by rail from ocean to ocean, that is, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, all in British territory, a feat equalling the achievements of the same kind in the United States.

The remaining work of constructing branches to the north is what might be called the crying want of the North-west. We have heard remarks by many farmers to the effect that branch railways are wanting towards the south from the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, so as to make connection with the railways advancing upwards from the United States. The great and pressing importance of these matters should receive consideration.

We know that the Canadian boatmen, so celebrated in song and story, are beginning to pass away and be superseded, inasmuch as boats on rivers may have to yield to the iron horse on land. Nevertheless we have observed that there is much steamer communication on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers right up to Medicine Hat. I heard also that there is excellent lake communication up to Winnipeg, and along one branch of the Saskatchewan. Long experience has convinced me that canal or river navigation cannot in the long run compete with railways; nevertheless it is a great advantage to a country intersected by railways to have a few navigable rivers and canals also, because, although they cannot compete with railways, yet they carry things cheaply, and have a beneficial tendency for the public in keeping down railway charges for freight.

In reference to Hudson's Bay ocean navigation—I am aware that a committee of experts is

sitting upon this project, and considering whether it is practicable. If the committee reports that it is practicable, good; but if not, I would never abandon the hope that it might be found practicable by those who come after. I feel convinced that it must be practicable, because Hudson's Bay Company ships have navigated there for many generations, and what was practicable for them must be practicable for the steamships and Atlantic racers of the present day. The objections amount to this—that the harbours along Hudson's Bay are only open during a very short time each year. Still, the Hudson's Bay Company ships come pretty much at will all through the summer months, and why cannot a steamer do the same thing? Suppose at the worst the open season is but for a short time, nevertheless the route would be an advantage. In some countries there are waters open but for four months in the year, in which, still, a mighty traffic is done, as arrangements are made accordingly, and trade adapts itself to them. Even if there are but three or four months of open navigation for Hudson's Bay, then during the season ocean-going ships will come from Liverpool to Port Nelson, or some other harbour there. That circumstance will make a world of difference to the North-west, entirely change the condition of the country, introduce a new factor into your political life, and altogether be very important to you, placing you at Winnipeg

almost in direct communication with Liverpool by water. It would have immense effect upon the rich northern district I have been describing, and especially along the lower valley of the Saskatchewan. I regret that I have not been able to visit that country and enforce my remarks by practical observation; yet, notwithstanding, I am bound to state here what I shall state in England—my own conviction and that of thousands of others.

THE TARIFF.

I am not surprised to hear most of the farmers in these regions complain of the present tariff of duties leviable on articles crossing the Canadian frontier from the United States. They dislike having to pay the duty on agricultural implements, and think it somewhat hard that there should be so much taxation on canned provisions. The duty on the latter is indeed hard; but it seems that the agricultural implement question might be found to involve the fate of Canadian manufacturers. If these implements were to enter your country from the United States untaxed, they might compete injuriously with Canada-made implements. This is a plain statement of the case. It must be for you Canadians to judge, as a community, whether it is, or is not, worth while to pay somewhat higher prices than you would otherwise have to pay in order to foster your rising manufactures. That is a ques-

tion on which an outsider should be careful about offering an opinion. I, as an economic scientist, must say that economic science is against a protective tariff, but science is not always strictly applied to politics, and I admit that you are handicapped with many difficulties owing to your commercial relations with the United States. Nevertheless, it is for you to judge whether you would consent or could afford to pay something, in order that your young and rising Canadian manufactures may be cherished during their infancy. If you think you ought to do so, then you must be prepared to bear a certain amount of sacrifice. After all, you must remember that Providence has endowed you with many advantages which older countries do not possess, and perhaps you might be content to bide your time, in hope that your friends and representatives down at Ottawa will try to temper the wind to the shorn lamb, and strive to make the duties as convenient and light to you as they possibly can, in view of your contentment and your being reconciled to a certain amount of national sacrifice for the sake of the young manufactures on the banks of the St. Lawrence. If you are not pleased with the tariff at present, you may be inclined, perhaps, to bear your fate meekly, because, taking communities one with another, there are few so blessed as you are. If other portions of the Dominion have authority over you, it is possible that in the not distant

future you may become so great as to have authority over them. Although I am most hopeful regarding the great future of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and all other parts of this Dominion, in none do I see any future comparable to yours. With this land, which has the brightest prospect before any other land in the British Empire, stretching out around you, you may be prepared to acquiesce in certain sacrifices, if that be judged best by those in authority. Though I am a Conservative in English politics, I have personally believed in free trade. Though we believe it is right to have a free-trade policy, yet, if we suggest that other nations should adopt the same, it is more for the good of the latter than our own. It was because other nations chose to put on a protective tariff that England has remained queen of all the neutral markets in the world; and it is owing to those protective tariffs that she has managed to get into her hands the ship-building industry, so that she builds 70 or 80 per cent. of all the ships that are built on earth. That business is extremely important, and has been absolutely thrown into her hands by the protective tariffs, which, in defiance of economic science, other nations have adopted. The moral advantages of free trade to England are even greater than the material; because British manufacturers, knowing that they are wholly unprotected and can rely upon nothing except their own skill

industry, resources, and capital, are exerting themselves with an inventiveness and fertility which is not, I believe, equalled on earth. It is impossible to give an idea of the ceaseless exertions Englishmen are making to preserve their proud place at the head of the industries of the world, because they know they have nothing to rely on but themselves. Their rivals in Europe and elsewhere hope that domestic pressure may induce England some time to put on a protective duty, because they know that things would then become dear in England, and England would no longer command the neutral markets. English competition would be affected in those markets if England adopted a protective system. It is not for our own sake that we would advise you in the friendliest manner to look to your tariff. If other nations choose to make things dear, let them do so, it is their own business; but England continues to make her commerce as free as the air, and remains the undisputable and undisputed head of the industries of the world.

CONDITION OF THE COLONISTS.

The condition of the Colonists of the North-west seems to me to be perfectly satisfactory, and you must be congratulated thereon. I have observed everywhere churches springing up. Some are wonderfully well built, though others are rude and humble; yet the Divine Majesty is no respecter of

church structures. There are living institutions, clergy, congregations, and ecclesiastical arrangements which seem to be excellent. The whole country is parcelled out into episcopal sees, and in all of them clergy are accumulating. Excellent provision is being made for education. There are large schools in the towns; and even in the sparsely inhabited country in the interior there is a school system. The ecclesiastical, religious, and educational provisions are most creditable to the North-west of Canada. In connection with the moral condition of the people, I congratulate you heartily upon all the restrictions that you have been able to maintain in Manitoba respecting the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, and still more upon the prohibition which you have righteously enforced throughout the North-west. I understand that this prohibition was introduced originally out of a charitable and humane regard towards the Indians; but I believe it is just as good for your own people as for the Indians. The authorities have assured me that the Canadian Pacific Railway could not have been constructed so quickly and efficiently as it was had there been no such thing as prohibition, and had the free use of whisky been permitted. I asked the mounted police officers, and they informed me that their men were all temperance men. I do not know whether the word was used in any particular sense here, but, at all events, they said that their

men were sober and temperate as a body, and I believe the officers did them no more than justice. I attribute the sobriety and good conduct of the men to the prohibition existing in respect to liquor. It has not been affirmed that the men would not drink liquor if they could get it, but they had difficulty in getting it, and being well-disposed men they reconcile themselves to abstinence. As you have this great advantage, I urge you for God's sake to keep it. You have a chance which they do not possess in the old world. There the use of intoxicating liquors has been for many centuries inveterate; and when it is once established it can with difficulty be checked. It can be moderated only by the gradual progress of enlightenment and education. You have been keeping liquor out of the country, for God's sake use that advantage. I am desirous to influence public opinion. We heard in every direction that this prohibition was being greatly infringed and trenched upon, and that eventually it would be taken away, and that free drinking would have scope. I hope that this will not be the case in the North-west. I heartily congratulate you on the advantage you have, and I earnestly beseech you to keep it as long as you can.

IMMIGRATION.

Immigration to the North-west is of two kinds, for the cattle-ranche and for the farm. You are

getting most excellent men—the best possible class—for cattle-ranching. Sons of gentlemen who find every profession at home overstocked, who cannot enter the army in the face of the competitive examinations, or who do not succeed at the bar, or in the Church, and who see the counting-houses and banking establishments all filled with clerks,—are already thinking they can better their lot by taking to cattle-ranching. I would far sooner see my son a farmer, active on horseback, making a little money, and becoming independent before he was thirty years of age, than sitting still in a lawyer's office at home. I have made the acquaintance of several young men well educated and well bred, working away on cattle-ranches, healthy, blooming, and hearty as young Englishmen ought to be, and who have lost none of their good English manner, or sound original culture. Even several men high up in the professions at home are investing their capital in these ranches. My friend Mr. Staveley Hill has a splendid cattle-ranche near Calgary. He is an eminent member of the English bar, and a member of Parliament also, and altogether one of the rising men in the profession, nevertheless he is investing in this Canadian enterprise. I came out in the same ship with Mr. Inderwick, a Q.C. and a member of Parliament, who has settled his son on a cattle-ranche near Macleod. That class of men you are likely to get in increasing number. As regards

farmers and farm-labourers, I apprehend there will be difficulty, because in England they rather want all the farm-labourers they have. Farm-labourers are not the class they can conveniently spare. Artisan labourers are not wanted in the North-west, but are more suited for Ontario. Men in privation, who cannot get on, who have fallen into misfortune through bad seasons, may emigrate, and, although they have no special fitness for agriculture, may undergo some training at technical schools in the North-west itself. The British people are beginning to think of Canada as a country with a great promise. Hitherto the United States have had the lion's share of the emigration, especially since the development of their North-western States. Now it is probable that public attention is so much turned to the North-western Provinces of Canada that there will be an ever-increasing stream of immigrants, but I doubt if they will be actual agriculturists. But, although they may not understand farming, yet they may have stout hearts and strong hands, and an aptitude for learning, if you only make provision for teaching them. Canada was little known a few years ago in England, but it is well known now. At the mention of Canada before an English audience men and women prick up their ears. After coming to Canada a few years ago, as soon as I got home I was required to give account of what I had seen. I then stated what I had to say regarding Quebec and Ontario,

but was obliged to withhold a report of the North-west, which I had not seen. No doubt in my native country of Worcestershire a strict account will be exacted from me on my return from the North-west. Knowing I have before me an audience of experts this evening, I have carefully abstained from fine language and restrained my enthusiasm. It is difficult to praise people to their faces, but I shall be under no such disadvantage when I recross the Atlantic. Then I shall be able to praise you to my heart's content, behind your backs, and I will give full vent to the enthusiasm in my heart. I will indulge in what are sometimes called "high faluting" expressions regarding the boundless prairies and the grand Rockies, and I shall be able to attempt a poetic description of the glories of this land of promise, and I will urge my friends and neighbours who cannot get on at home to try their luck out here. As I have had the advantage, through the kindness of my hearers, of rehearsing my performance before you this evening, I hope that I may be able to perform it hereafter with much more vivacity and energy than I have been able to display on this occasion. I shall give a sincere and hearty report regarding the future which lies before you, and advise with all earnestness my countrymen at home to take part if they can in these great enterprises.

THE FEELING IN ENGLAND.

There is a feeling among some Canadians that they have been disparaged among the people at home: but I am not aware of such disparagement, and will venture to give some contradiction to the assertion. I assure you that it is not the case, although my friends at home are not accurately acquainted with Canada. It is a large country, the maps are very uncertain, and the old ones are all wrong. I think the Canadians themselves hardly have an idea of all its geographical features, and the people of the eastern provinces would hardly be able to pass a satisfactory examination on the geography of the Saskatchewan, the Peace, and the McKenzie rivers. Hence I can hardly be surprised if this be the case in the old country. Yet people have visionary notions of countries with which they are not actually acquainted; poetic ideas regarding things of which they have not accurate knowledge, as things great, glorious, and grand, though they do not exactly know in what the greatness, glory, and grandeur consist. I am sure that no description which I can give would exceed the conception the people at home already have in their own imagination. They vaguely imagine you to possess a great country with quite an immense development before it. It will be my duty, in return for all the kindness and hospitality I have received here, to give

them the particulars of this greatness, and whether my account will be correct or incorrect the present audience can judge from what I have been telling you this evening. If my report is favourable it will gladden the hearts of our countrymen at home, and make their breasts swell with patriotic fervour and their eyes glisten with sympathy for you, their fellow-countrymen. They feel the greatest pride in their colonial—I will not say dependencies—but dominions, which form a part of the British Empire. They do not regard you as subject, but as fully equal, to themselves and as partaking of all the privileges of the mother-land. Whatever you achieve of happiness or prosperity will always be a source of gladness to them. They will rejoice when you rejoice, and weep when you weep. They feel a patriotic and brotherly sentiment towards you in common with all the colonies of the British Empire.

CHAPTER IV.

FORESTRY FOR THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.*

Forestry in Great Britain—In Scandinavia—In France and Germany—Deforesting in Southern Europe—In Russia—In Turkey—In Greece and the Levant—In Syria and Palestine—In Persia—In British India—Forests of North America—Of South Africa—Of Australia—Objects of scientific forestry—Preservation of national wealth—Retention of moisture—Moderation of the climate—Meaning of instruction in forestry—Its several purposes—Its importance to the British Empire—Commencement of it in England and Scotland.

IN accordance with the programme of this Congress, I am about to make a speech to you on "Instruction in Forestry." Now, forestry is at first sound and sight a very picturesque subject, and indeed I might, if time permitted, attempt to depict to your imaginations the sylvan glories of the earth. I should be delighted to do so, as I am extremely fond of

* Speech delivered before the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, at the Huddersfield Congress, 1883.

sketching the trees in the forests which I am about to mention, and have painted them frequently. But I must not be tempted to stray into these charming paths, as this is a practical Congress.

I apprehend that forestry, in its widest and most technical sense, is a subject very little attended to in this country (England), and I must ask you to consider what is this forestry? No doubt you will be inclined to say you have never thought about it in this sense, though you may have had much to do with arboriculture. This being the case, you will be still less disposed to give an opinion as to what is instruction in forestry. I will endeavour to afford you a practical answer to these questions; but, in order that I may do so, I must ask you for a few minutes to accompany me in imagination upon a short tour round the world.

We will begin our tour with our own native land, and we must at once admit that in no country is forestry so little thought of as it is here. And why? Because England does not lie under the necessities which press upon other nations and compel them to study this subject. We do not trouble ourselves much about forestry, for three reasons. First, because we have, as is generally known, a superabundance of rain. Secondly, because we have, owing to the rainfall and to our naturally rich soil, a perfect carpet of vegetation, which preserves from destruction all the rich "humus" (that is the

scientific name) or soil with which the land is covered. Thirdly, because we are blessed with the gulf-stream of the Atlantic, which moderates our climate. If you have travelled in Scandinavia or Canada you will know the decided difference the gulf-stream makes to our climate. If we had not that stream we should be obliged to do something in the direction of restoring those forests which were the glories of the land in the time of Robin Hood. And how about Scotland? It is richer in forests than England, but still there remains the fact that at the best within the last fifty years Scotland never had more than a million of acres under forests, and that is just one-twentieth of her total area of 20 millions of acres. Now, despite the efforts of arboriculturists and of public-spirited men in Scotland, even that comparatively small acreage of forest land is dwindling away. The Scottish Arboricultural Society said last year that it had fallen down to about three quarters of a million, or 750,000 acres. This is the state of things in Great Britain.

Let us now cross to Scandinavia. In the northern part of Norway there is something of the same sort of oblivion of forestry that there is in this country. But in Southern Norway—that picturesque Norway we resort to—and throughout Sweden, the area of forests is remarkable, and constitutes the leading feature in the Scandinavian landscape, covered with

pine-forests. I have been sometimes in the midst of grand scenery, where, from the ground below up to the lofty peaks above, there was nothing but one waving mass of pines. That is the characteristic of Norway and Sweden; there they preserve forests in an enlightened and patriotic manner, for the preservation of the national wealth. It pays them wonderfully well to do so. It is, indeed, the main source of their wealth. It is the most precious of all material possessions to them. Then, again, I have recently travelled in Germany. I have observed that the Germans, though they have a vast growing population, nevertheless have preserved most carefully all the forests on their principal hills, that is to say, in the upper basin of the Rhine, of the Elbe, and in many other places. Their forest preservation is a model for all other nations. They do it, not for climatic reasons, but for the preservation of the national wealth. The same remark applies in Eastern France, that is to say, to the Vosges mountains, near the arena which was the scene of the Franco-German War. There is also Nancy, which is the great forest school of France. I am not here in any way to pronounce a defence of or panegyric upon the administration of the late Emperor Napoleon the Third, but, whatever may have been his faults of ambition, he was one of the first men in France to introduce a system of sound forestry into that country. This has been

done in Eastern France for the preservation, again, of the national wealth, rather than for climatic reasons. Now, I have referred to three countries—Scandinavia, Germany, and Eastern France, all of which maintain their forests for the national prosperity and for the supply of the markets of the world. It is very lucky for us in Great Britain that there are such sources of the supply of foreign timber. We get our timber, as you know, from Scandinavia and Canada.

Next, the art of forestry is cultivated in some other countries I am about to mention, not only for the augmentation of the national wealth, but also for the sake of preserving the moisture and fertility in the soil, and for maintaining a temperate climate. For ensuring a temperate climate to the inhabitants, the first to be mentioned is Southern France. The guide-books most familiar to tourists tell of the immense injury wrought in Southern France by the destruction of the forests which used to exist there. In consequence the ground has been washed and carried away, and barrenness succeeds to fertility. Then you have long periods of drought, followed by terrible floods and inundations, many of them being greatly destructive of life and property. This has notoriously been the case in Southern France, as it has also been in Italy and in Spain. I see from travelling that the destruction of forests in Spain is as great as anywhere in Southern Europe.

The mountain ranges of the Guadarrama, the Sierra Morena, the Sierra Nevada, are brown and bare from deforesting for many generations. Aridity—diversified only by a few oases of verdure—is the characteristic of the Spanish landscape. It is the same with Portugal, in the basins of the Tagus and the Douro. Turning to Russia, we know that it is a country of forests, naturally. But if you travel there you will find that the birch has largely succeeded to the pine. This means that where pine forests have been cut down, without any provision for reproduction, birch forests grow up. Whenever you see a birch forest in Russia, you will know that a reckless unscientific felling of pine trees has occurred. This has no doubt affected the climate; the alternation of drought and flood is more frequent than it used to be between Moscow and Odessa. When I last saw the steppe it was literally burnt up with drought. Come to the next neighbouring country, Turkey. Around Constantinople the destruction is patent to all travellers. Upon both shores of the Bosphorous the population has hardly a stick to bless itself with. Pass on to Greece, once the abode of Dryads and wood-nymphs and the sylvan deities—all which indicates that in the classic ages it was decked and clothed with forests. What is the case now-a-days? Instead of being a timber-exporting country, as she once was, Greece actually imports timber from Austria. She sorely

needs exportable products; but, having suffered her timber-bearing tracts to be deforested, she must perforce buy wood from the Austrians, who have had the wisdom to preserve their forests. Then sail down to the Levant. It was once the scene of the greatest events, and a region most blest with wealth and fertility. It is now merely a shadow of what it was. The harbour of Ephesus has been dried up from the silting caused by deforesting on the adjacent hills. And crossing over to Cyprus, one of the latest regions to pass under British sway, there again you hear of nothing but destruction of forests. The goatherds of Cyprus have carried the day, and innumerable goats are still allowed to browse upon the young plants, with but little restriction; therefore the sylvan glories of Cyprus are now departed, and merged into darkness. Then again, cross over to Syria, the opposite shore, and you hear the same story there. Where now are the famous cedar groves which existed in the days when Hiram sent timber to Solomon in Palestine? There are only a few clumps of trees on Lebanon to mark what once was there. Where are the oaks under whose shade the patriarchs pitched their tents? Echo vainly answers, "Where?" Only a few feeble remnants remain. I believe the only forests yet remaining within the old sacred limits of Palestine are a few of the oaks of Bashan. But they are situated on the other side of Jordan, where the hand of des-

truction cannot reach them. Next pass on to Persia. Why, Persia used to be a grand kingdom, dominating an enormous empire, and sending forth vast armies into the field. But now-a-days it is a decayed country. Where are now the vast populations it used to feed? They have shrunk down to a petty figure of some seven or eight millions. Sterility, aridity, and denudation are the unhappily marked features of the interior of Persia. This is, of course, mainly owing to the destruction of the forests. Alas! the forests are gone, the streams are dried up, and though the old water-channels remain, they may be very interesting to the antiquary, but are not useful to the agriculturist.

Now let us go to British India, for which we are responsible. India was once perhaps the most richly wooded country on the face of the earth. Its forests too have been largely destroyed. Under the native rule no care was taken, and when the country came under the British control, England was too much occupied with war and politics to attend to this question. Had we understood the subject scientifically, however, I have no doubt we should have found time to attend to it. But of course the reason why we did not attend was that we did not know how. After a too long slumber in the matter we have awakened, and you will be glad to hear that, in spite of our past wastefulness of timber, nevertheless we now have in India the

largest Forest Department in the world. We actually possess about 70,000 square miles of State forests within British India, under more or less scientific care. Out of that number some 25,000 square miles are under forestry of the most scientific kind that can be devised. The remaining 50,000 are under very tolerable and respectable preservation.

A word as to other countries in which England is more or less interested. You will hear the same story about the destruction of forests in Canada.

When I was there last year so much public attention was being aroused to the subject that Arboricultural and Forestry Departments were being founded in Montreal. I am occasionally favoured with Canadian pamphlets, some of them bearing striking headings of this nature, "Alarming Destruction of Forests in North America." I know it is true, and I am glad to find that the Americans are beginning to be awakened on the subject. But it is to be feared that they will not succeed in preserving much of their forests. In most parts of the United States the destruction of forests is reckless in the extreme. I have seen several parts of the Canadian Mountains being fast deforested. Many far-sighted Americans are aware of the danger. But as yet public opinion is hardly awakened.

In the West Indies you have the same melancholy account of the devastation of forests there. It is, perhaps, possible that North America may get

on without forests and that the people will only lose a source of wealth. In the West Indies they will not only lose a source of wealth, but they will injure their climate and fertility. A similar state of things exists in South Africa, for there also you hear the same sad story of the alternation of drought and flood. But this danger has not yet arisen in Australia, for the reason that the forests there are so far inland that destructive agencies have not yet been able to reach them. The future problem for Australia to solve is the best means of preserving the water supply,—of taking the scanty rivers close to their source, of storing their waters in reservoirs, and so husbanding them for the use of the great communities springing up near the coast. If the Australians destroy the forests, they will ruin their chance of future water supply and irrigation in a land which is proverbially thirsty.

Now I have given you some idea as to what forestry is, and the reason why you want it. You will perceive that it is not a mere abstract matter of science, but an immediate practical subject of importance, fitting for the discussions of a Congress like this. Forestry means three important things. Before specifying them I may remind you that forests are to be preserved, not merely for their own sake, and not for the sake of any sentiment whatever, but for the use of man. Those are the enemies of forest preservation who are always

saying that forests are made for man and not man for forests, as if the friends of such preservation said something different. Indeed we quite acknowledge that forests should be preserved in order that they may be utilized. But you should not exhaust the forests for your own immediate benefit without thinking of those who come after you. Let us at once admit that, though forests may be made for man, yet, at the same time, they are made for his very judicious use. What, therefore, are the three points to which forestry should be directed? First, to the preserving of forests—the great object is not to lose your forests; once lost, it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to replace them by planting. Therefore, preserve what you have received from a bounteous Providence. The second point is the judicious use of the trees. The analogy of interest and capital in finance applies to our forests. We should utilise our forests in the same manner as that whereby a financier would use his capital—that is, make the best use of our talent by putting it out at interest. We are undoubtedly entitled to draw interest from the forests, but we should take only a reasonable quantity from them for our daily use—that, and no more. If we do more than that, we are adopting the very process which the spendthrift adopts when he lives upon his capital. The trees must by such means come to an utter end; whereas, if judiciously managed, forests might yield

an abundant interest—far more than any paltry 5 or 10 per cent.—for the use of man, and a national capital would thereby be preserved intact. The third object of forestry is undoubtedly planting. Although I have said that you cannot by planting replace vast forest lands, yet you may do much good, as has been done in India, by acclimatising many new kinds of trees.

You see, then, what forestry means, and I think, if you have kindly followed me in my general allusions to other countries, you will perceive that forestry ought to exist for three objects. First, the preservation of the national wealth. Secondly, the retention of moisture in the soil, preventing the vegetation being destroyed; and for preventing the carrying away of the soil by rains and floods (because recollect that forests act as a kind of binding power in the soil, the roots and radicles acting like a network or reticulation, or like veins and arteries, holding the ground together). The second object is, therefore, the retention of moisture and the preservation of rich soil. The third object is the moderation of the climate. Although you do not experience the want of moderation of climate here in England, you should feel for your fellow-countrymen and your fellow-subjects abroad in excessively hot climates, with inordinately long periods of drought, followed by destructive floods. I think

you now understand in a general way what forestry means and why it is wanted.

But you will say, as practical people, that I have yet to explain about instruction in forestry. I had, however, to explain what forestry is before I could explain instruction in it. You may now ask, "Of what exactly is this instruction to consist?" In general terms, we have seen that forestry is wanted for the sake of our domestic progress, as a nation or as an empire. We ought, then, to have a school of foresters, who will carry the scientific principles of forestry abroad to those wide regions where England has either direct political sway, or indirect national influence. After carefully going over the subject with the best foresters in Scotland, I have divided the instruction in forestry into ten heads. I shall only mention to you these ten heads; they are all strictly practical. The first is the method of preparing the land for forests. The second is the art of planting and transplanting. The third is the art of thinning and pruning, which represents the drawing of interest from capital, as I have said. The fourth is the utilising of limbs and branches—the using of dead branches and limbs of trees for crate wood. The fifth is felling; and the sixth, barking. This sixth head is a matter of great importance. Hundreds of thousands of tons of bark are wasted, and are likely to be wasted, whereas by judicious forestry

they are converted into a valuable commodity. The seventh is the leaving of standards for reproduction. Under that technical expression is comprised a most important operation. While there must be felling and cutting in the forests, we should not act with shortsighted selfishness. We do not, indeed, wish to prevent felling and cutting for the supply of markets and for the use of man. But it should be judicious. You cut a certain number of trees according as you want them. You cut one and leave another. You cut two or three and leave two or three, and those you leave are called standards—standards for reproduction. The seeds are scattered upon ground which is chemically suited for the reproduction of that particular species. They fall upon congenial soil and up spring the new trees. We must learn how to leave standards for reproduction. The eighth is gathering produce. We are aware that all forests have a quantity of fruit, cones, nuts, and seeds, especially pine forests, which are most valuable as articles of commerce in the manufactures of the world. The ninth is sawing and manufacturing of timber. The tenth and last is rearing and propagating in nurseries all young trees of established varieties, or else the introduction and acclimatization of new varieties. Instruction in forestry should consist, I think, of these ten departments.

You will ask me, finally, to specify more particu-

larly what this instruction is wanted for? It is wanted, first, for the raising up of arboriculturists and foresters at home. We cannot say we want the instruction for English forests, as we have got only a few of them, but we do want arboriculturists for the whole of the United Kingdom. We want foresters trained and educated to carry the principles of scientific forestry into all those regions of the earth where we have influence. Then, secondly, and this is most important, it is our duty, as Members of a scientific Congress, to help to educate public opinion in this matter. I have shown you what great evils have resulted, not only in the British Empire, but in foreign countries, from a want of knowledge on this subject; and I will point out to you that popular knowledge of the subject is required in this country for two reasons. First, that the British people may realise the importance of forestry to the British Empire; and secondly, that, recognising the importance of the subject, they may be prepared to overcome the obstacles which always exist, even in the progressive British Empire, to forestry reform. These obstacles are of three kinds. 1. The reckless cutting down of woods by individuals, especially contractors and timber merchants, who desire to make the most out of the forests at the present moment, and care little as to what shall ultimately become of them. 2. The existence of a number of private customs

which are dignified by the name of rights, though they are not entitled to that sacred designation. It simply means that a large number of persons, corporations, and bodies of men, desire to preserve sinister interests of their own in the forests without reference to the public benefit. 3. The obstructive interests of those who are the enemies of changes, even when demonstrably beneficial. Vested interests of this unlawful character die very hard indeed. You will see, then, why it is we desire that public opinion should be so educated as to give that moral support without which beneficial changes respecting forestry cannot be carried out in an empire like this. Our object should be to send people from this country who will carry these principles abroad, and we may be thankful that in the British Empire the ultimate arbiter in these matters is public opinion, which this Social Science Association may assist to enlighten. And we are not without encouragement. Efforts are beginning to be made. In the first place, Government is setting an example by instructing students of forestry at home in England, instead of sending them to Nancy, to Baden and other places in Germany. It is beginning to act upon the old British principle of self-help. But we must acknowledge our obligations to the French and the Germans. Many of the best conservators of forests in British India have been Germans. As we want self-reliance in forestry, I rejoice to see that the Government itself

is beginning to take steps in this direction. A forestry class has been established at the Royal College of Engineering, at Cooper's Hill, near Windsor. The matter has been taken up by the Scottish Arboricultural Society in Edinburgh, and by the Society of Arts in London. We must be thankful to these influential associations in Edinburgh and London. Lastly, there is to be an international exhibition of forestry this time twelve months, in Edinburgh, and I trust that such an exhibition will carry us several steps forward in the cause of scientific forestry reform.*

* The exhibition has since taken place with full success, and greatly to the enlightenment of public opinion in respect to this important subject.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN ENGLAND.*

Value to the Nation of Social Science—National Association for promoting this Science—Congress at Birmingham in 1884—Plan of Congress and sketch of its work—Questions discussed on that occasion—Congress at Huddersfield in 1883—Its operations and results—Former Congresses annually since 1857 when Association was founded—Past Presidents of Congresses—Other eminent supporters—Effect of social discussions on the public mind—Wide scope for such discussions—Infinite variety of improvements and reforms—Catholic character of the work.

At a time when the political atmosphere is charged with electricity, and the arena of public life is heated with the strife of faction, or filled with the dust of controversy, it is refreshing to turn for a moment to quiet fields, rich with the harvest of beneficence. When the flames of discussion are bursting forth, an unreal and artificial light is cast on all questions, be they political strictly, or

* Reprinted, with some adaptation, from the *National Review*, August 1884.

be they social, and it is well to turn towards some point of view whence the mild, pure light of day can fall upon matters that concern the future welfare of the country. For it will be found that while some political affairs, such as those affecting the distribution of power between various classes, are indeed contentious,—most of the problems in which society (in its largest sense) is interested are non-contentious. No doubt we cannot afford to neglect the contentious subjects, which, if settled wrongly, will affect more or less all other subjects whatsoever; and we must eagerly contend for the prevalence of our own principles. But, as patriots, we ought to attend to the non-contentious subjects also. We should fail in our highest duties, if we were to suffer ourselves to be absorbed in the mint, aniseed, and cummin of factious strife, and were to overlook the weightier matters of the law concerning the condition of the people. And the pursuit of social science is one of the several ways whereby these matters can best be dealt with.

Having been President of the National Association for Promoting Social Science, during the year 1883-4, when its Congress was held at Huddersfield, and being still the Chairman of its Council, I am able to state fully and precisely what its policy is and what it did during its two latest Congresses at Huddersfield and Birmingham.

The Association was founded in 1857. With it

was amalgamated, in 1864, the Law Amendment Society, which had existed for twenty years, that is, since 1844, and which, by the testimony of Lord Brougham, had rendered signal service in the cause of legal reform. It has a large number of permanent members, and a staff of honorary office-bearers. It always has a large number of associates or temporary members at each place where its Congress meets; and these meetings are held annually at one or other of the large towns in the United Kingdom. Its head quarters are, of course, in London.

The last Annual Congress of the Association was held, for the year 1884, at Birmingham during the week beginning from the 17th September. The occasion was one of special interest to the Society and its supporters, because Birmingham is the place where the Society first met in the year 1857, under the presidency of Lord Brougham. Thus the Association celebrated its twenty-seventh anniversary at its birthplace. Both before and since that year, Birmingham, as an industrial centre remarkable for the number, the solidity, the beauty, and the variety of its industries, has been a focus of light for social progress and reform.

The President of the Association is the Right Honourable George Shaw Lefevre. The Presidents of the five departments into which the work of the Association is divided are—

- I. { Jurisprudence.—Mr. John Westlake.
Repression of Crime.—Mr. J. S. Dugdale.
- II. Education.—Mr. Oscar Browning.
- III. Health.—Dr. Norman Chevers.
- IV. Economy and Trade.—Mr. H. H. Fowler.
- V. Art.—The Right Honble A. J. B. Beresford-Hope.

The object of the meeting is to discuss questions of immediate and pressing interest in respect to the condition and the welfare of the people. Some months before the Congress of the Association, which, as already stated, is always held in the autumn at some one of the principal towns in the interior of the United Kingdom, the Council considers carefully what are the questions of the day—"burning questions" as they are sometimes familiarly called—that may be suited for discussion. These, having been formulated, are shown to the local authorities of the place where the Congress is to be held, and, after consultation with them, are finally decided. It then becomes the business of the Council to find the best authors that can be induced to write papers on these questions. An oral discussion follows the reading of each paper. Every discussion of importance is followed by the formulation of a resolution which is communicated to the Executive Committee of the Association in order that some action may be taken thereon.

Time and opportunity are provided for the reading of voluntary papers to a limited extent, in addition to the fixed papers previously arranged by the Council.

The president of each of the five departments reads an address during the course of the meeting; and the proceedings are opened by a general address from the President of the Association. The meeting lasts just a week, beginning on Wednesday. A sermon is preached before the Association by some preacher specially chosen.

Such being the general plan of a Congress, let us look for a moment at the questions primarily discussed at Birmingham in 1884—that is, the questions which were proposed by the Council, after consultation with the local authorities at Birmingham—so that the reader may judge as to whether they are pertinent and practical.

I.—DEPARTMENT OF JURISPRUDENCE AND THE AMENDMENT OF THE LAW.

International and Municipal Law Section.

1. Is it desirable to introduce into the United Kingdom an official record of rights and interests in land, such as exists in the Australasian Colonies?

2. What reforms are desirable in the law relating to the arrest and continued detention of alleged lunatics and to the control of their property?

3. What amendments are required in the system of local government in England with regard to areas, functions, and representative or other authorities ?

Repression of Crime Section.

1. Can our prisons be rendered, in a considerable degree, self-supporting, and, if so, by what means, without a sacrifice of their discipline and deterrent effect ?

2. Should schools of discipline be established for the correction of juvenile offenders and their detention for short periods ?

3. What means would reduce the traffic in stolen property ?

II.—EDUCATION,

1. Do the powers now exercised by the Charity Commissioners over the Endowed Schools of the country stand in need of modification, and, if so, in what direction and to what extent ?

2. How far are the requirements of the country for well-trained teachers in Elementary Schools met by the pupil-teacher system and the existing Training Colleges ?

3. In testing the efficiency of schools should processes or “ results ” be chiefly regarded ?

III.—HEALTH.

1. What is the best method of dealing with (a) town sewage, (b) the products of house and street scavenging, and (c) the products of combustion?

2. What are the best means, legislative or other, of securing those improvements in the dwellings of the poor which are essential to the welfare of the community?

3. How far may the average death-rate of a population be considered an efficient test of its sanitary condition; and by what means can the high death-rate of children be reduced?

IV.—ECONOMY AND TRADE DEPARTMENT.

1. Would it be advantageous to give to leaseholders powers entitling them to the purchase of the fee-simple of the lands and premises they occupy, or otherwise to interfere by law with the prevailing system of building and other long leases?

2. What has been the working of the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, and is any amendment of it desirable?

3. What is the social condition of the working classes in 1884 as compared with 1857, when the first meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was held in Birmingham; and in what way can the working classes best utilise their savings?

V.—ART.

1. Ought elementary instruction in drawing to be made an essential part of the national education?
2. What is the value to the ear, the mind, the health, and the disposition of the young, produced by class instruction in music?
3. How can a love and appreciation of art be best developed among the masses of the people?

As we glance over the list of these questions, and consider their serious importance to the nation, and then reflect on the manner in which the issues of the moment are being confused by political party spirit,—we cannot avoid speculating with curiosity, if not with anxiety, how far our political institutions will prove equal to grapple with the problems of the future. The Social Science Association performs a public service in placing such problems before the people in their true light.

The assistance of the newspaper press, both metropolitan and provincial, has been, and we hope will continue to be, very potential. The proceedings of the Congress, the names of the speakers, the substance of the speeches, are chronicled at full length, day by day, in the local newspapers of the city and county where the meeting is held; all the important points, too, are discussed in leading articles. Even in the metropolitan news-

papers the notices, though comparatively brief, are yet explicit. The consequence is that popular attention is turned periodically to subjects vitally affecting the welfare of the people; to evils affecting whole classes, by reason of neglect in providing a remedy; to troubles, previously unknown, which spring from the operation even of measures that have been beneficently designed. The attention thus attracted must react on that public opinion which will ultimately be dominant in respect to social reform.

But the work of the Social Science Association does not end with the annual Congress. It has been just explained that almost every important discussion upon papers read at the Congress ends in some resolution being passed at that meeting. These resolutions are communicated, after the breaking-up of the Congress, to the Council and the Executive Committee of the Association, which sits *en permanence* in London. After due consideration the Council takes some action on each resolution, either preparing a memorial to some department of the Government, or organizing a deputation to wait upon a Minister, or requesting some friend in Parliament to make a motion, or even sometimes drafting a Bill, of which some Member of the legislature may take charge. The work thus done by the Council and its committees is more or less constant all the year round, and constitutes not the least

valuable portion of the Association's labour. Its printed records display a large amount of correspondence and proceedings, which have at least contributed to the attainment of public benefit.

In illustration of this, it may be mentioned that since the Congress, held in October, 1883, at Huddersfield, action has been taken by the Association in the following matters.

A deputation of the Council waited upon the Attorney-General to urge the adoption in the United Kingdom of some system for the record of rights and interests in land, similar to the system which was introduced into Australia with excellent effect, at the instance of several Colonial authorities, among whom Sir Robert Torrens was conspicuous, and which is popularly known as the Torrens system.* At the instance of the Jurisprudence Committee, presided over by Mr. Barber, Q.C., a Bill for the better administration and devolution of the estates of deceased persons was introduced into the House of Commons, the names on the back of the Bill being those of Mr. Horace Davey, Mr. G. W. Hastings, and Mr. Mellor. Memorials from the Council have been presented to the Privy Council and to the Local Government Board, also a petition to the House of Commons, regarding the purity of the

* Sir Robert Torrens has since died, regretted by all those who take an interest in Social Science.

milk supply, and the transfer of the inspection of dairies and milk-shops from the veterinary to the sanitary authorities. Similarly a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons to amend and consolidate the law of copyright in works of fine art and in photographs, and for repressing the commission of fraud in the production and sale of such works. On the back of this bill are the names of Mr. G. W. Hastings, Mr. Hanbury Tracy, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Agnew, and Mr. Gregory.

Again, in June, 1884, on the invitation of the International Health Exhibition Committee, a conference was held by the Social Science Association at South Kensington. At this conference, which sat for two days, matters of primary importance in respect to sanitary legislation were discussed. Papers were read on the progress of sanitary legislation, by Mr. Powell, M.P.; on the sanitary requirements of dwellings in both urban and rural localities, by Mr. Collins (district surveyor in London); on the notification of infectious diseases, by Mr. G. W. Hastings (M.P.); on the functions of health officers, by Mr. Brown (M.P.). In the discussions which followed the reading of these papers speakers were heard on both sides of the several questions. Those who were opposed to legislative progress spoke their mind, and they were answered by practical authorities in favour of reform.

That the Congress at Birmingham in 1884 is likely

to be fruitful in actual result may be fairly inferred from a *resumé* of what was done at Huddersfield in 1883. Discussions took place at the Huddersfield Congress regarding the over-pressure in elementary schools—the injury to the health of scholars from ill-constructed or ill-arranged school-rooms—the amendment of the blasphemy laws—the conduct of public prosecutions—the destination of incorrigible children—the sale of poisons—the disposal of stolen goods—the preparation for technical instruction—the training for forestry—the Habitual Drunkards Act—the carriage of sick and injured persons—the progress of girls’ friendly societies—the future conduct of county government—the city guilds—the appreciation of gold—the fish supply of the United Kingdom—the Sunday opening of museums—the formation of an English school of music—the application of art to textile manufactures—and several other subjects. Surely these are some among the many questions of the day. At the time, the Yorkshire newspapers were full of these discussions. Some notice, too, was taken of them by the London press. The departmental addresses by Mr. F. S. Powell on education—by Dr. Pridgin Teale (of Leeds) on health—by Sir Rupert Kettle on art—by Mr. W. Barber (Q.C.) on jurisprudence—by Mr. Howard Vincent on the repression of crime—by Professor Thorold Rogers on economy and trade—were all popular and suggestive. To these meetings the

members or associates of the Association only were admitted. But at the end there was a public meeting designed especially for the working classes, when speeches on the general subject of Social Science were delivered by the leading members of the Association.

The example of Huddersfield is cited only because it is recent. But actually it is one of a long series of examples the retrospect of which may well stimulate the Association, by renewed, even by redoubled, effort to sustain its traditions at a standard worthy of the public men of note who have been connected with it. Its first president was Lord Brougham, who presided over its annual congresses at Birmingham (1857), at Glasgow (1860), at Dublin (1861), at London (1862), at Edinburgh (1863), at York (1864), and at Sheffield (1865). Then Lord John Russell presided over the Congress at Liverpool in 1858. Lord Shaftesbury presided over the Congresses at Bradford in 1859 and at Manchester in 1866. The following have been the Presidents at the other Congresses :

Belfast . . .	1867	The Earl of Dufferin.
Birmingham . .	1868	The Earl of Carnarvon.
Bristol . . .	1869	Sir Stafford Northcote.
Newcastle-on-Tyne	1870	The Duke of North- umberland.
Leeds . . .	1871	Sir John Pakington.

Plymouth . . .	1872	Lord Napier & Ettrick.
Norwich . . .	1873	Lord Houghton.
Glasgow . . .	1874	The Earl of Rosebery.
Brighton . . .	1875	Lord Aberdare.
Liverpool . . .	1876	The Marquis of Huntly.
Aberdeen . . .	1877	The Earl of Aberdeen.
Cheltenham . . .	1878	Lord Norton.
Manchester . . .	1879	The Bishop of Manchester (Fraser).
Edinburgh . . .	1880	Lord Reay.
Dublin . . .	1881	Lord O'Hagan.
Nottingham . . .	1882	Mr. G. W. Hastings.
Huddersfield . . .	1883	Sir Richard Temple.
Birmingham . . .	1884	Right Hon. G. Shaw Lefevre.

It was impossible to hold a Congress in the autumn of 1885, owing to the General Election. But a Conference on Temperance Legislation will be held in London, under the auspices of the Association, in February 1886, at which delegates representing the views of the temperance societies on the one hand, and of the brewers and licensed victuallers on the other hand, will be present.

Besides the Presidents of the Association, as named above, there have been many eminent persons concerned in its work during the last quarter of a century. Foremost among them has been Mr. George Woodyatt Hastings, who was among

the very earliest promoters of the Association, and has worked in its cause for more than a quarter of a century. He succeeded Lord Brougham as head of the Council, and held that post for thirteen years. The Jurisprudence department has been honoured by the names of Sir James Stephen, Sir Travers Twiss, Sir W. Page Wood, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Sir James Wilde, Sir Robert Phillimore, Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, Sir John Coleridge, Sir Farrer Herschel;—the Health department by those of Sir Benjamin Brodie, Sir Charles Hastings, Sir James Simpson, Dr. Lyon Playfair, Dr. Acland, Sir Rutherford Alcock, Edwin Lankester, and Edwin Chadwick;—the Education department by those of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, Thomas Chambers, Edward Baines, Canon Kingsley, Sir Charles Reed;—the Economy and Trade department by those of Professor Fawcett, Michel Chevalier, Sir James Emerson Tennent, Nassau W. Senior, William Newmarch, M. E. Grant Duff, Bonamy Price, Goldwin Smith, W. Farr;—the Art department by those of E. J. Poynter, Gambier Parry, Sir Coutts Lindsay, Professor Richmond.

It will be readily imagined and understood that such men as these, writing and speaking on the social topics of the day before large meetings held year by year at the principal towns in the kingdom, must have wrought some considerable effect on the public mind. These proceedings really have exer-

cised influence in the past regarding the disposal of such important subjects as law reporting, the dealing with insolvency, the code of general average in maritime adventures, the property of married women, the law of partnership, the patent law, the foreign marriage laws, the relations between capital and labour, the charitable trusts, the discipline of convicts, the international prison congresses, the schools inquiry commission, the higher education of women, the factory education, the adulteration of food, the registration of births and deaths, the inspection of lodging-houses, the condition of the canal and river population, the payment of merchant seamen's wages, the licensing laws, the post-office savings banks, the provident dispensaries, the management of hospitals. Not only has the Social Science Association in its corporate capacity worked at these and many other cognate subjects, but also many of the leading men who actually brought improvements to pass were its members. It was this membership that helped to concentrate their thoughts on improvement, and that stimulated their zeal by contact with other minds bent on the same ends. It would not be exaggeration to say that there is hardly a subject relating to any branch of the national life which the Association has not touched, always with some effect more or less, and sometimes with considerable success. In some matters especially, such as the property of married women, the development

of sanitary regulations, the inquiry into middle-class schools, the organization of thrift, the management of hospitals, reformatories, and industrial schools—the Association has been very active and successful. If the history of several social reforms, which have since become household words, were examined, it would be found that their organization was, in some part at least, due either to the Association collectively, or to some of its members individually. None can suppose that the catalogue of necessary reforms is approaching exhaustion, or can doubt that a progressive age will produce a yearly harvest of subjects ripe for the sickle of philanthropic improvement, or believe that society will, within any reasonable time, be free from abuses to be swept clean, and from cobwebs to be brushed away. There is a practically limitless field awaiting benevolent enterprise; and the recent programme shows that workers to emulate their famous predecessors are still forthcoming.

I have thus briefly explained the objects, the traditions, and the present operations of the Social Science Association, also the work of its two last Congresses at Huddersfield and Birmingham. The Association claims no undue share in the social progress which has been effected in many directions during the present generation. Still less does it ever think of arrogating any exclusiveness in the advocacy of social reforms. It remembers

that other associations have helped largely to the attainment of beneficial results, and that the force of opinion, or of circumstances, has been powerful in bringing good things to pass. Still, it has borne its share and played its part well. It hopes to continue stedfastly in so doing, in view of the boundless vista of possible improvement opening before our eyes. There would be tedium in recounting all the measures which it has advocated during the last quarter of a century. Enough of fresh instances may, perhaps, have been given to illustrate the sort of business which the Association performs, and the manner in which its proceedings are conducted. There can be no doubt whatever that such work, done in such a manner during decade after decade, by such men as those who have been named, must have been productive of considerable good, and will be pregnant with still further benefit if perseverance shall be stimulated by a retrospect of the past. Those who have culture, experience, and disposable time seem to recognise more and more the incumbent duty of giving their services freely and voluntarily to their countrymen, and striving especially to apply their knowledge for the benefit of those industrial classes who constitute the foundation of British greatness. In a word, the art of rendering British homes happy is the social science which this Association desires to foster. If this science be indefinite in some respects, it is very

definite indeed in others. Indeed, whatever indefiniteness it may have adds to its difficulty, without at all lessening its urgency or its necessity. The Association is in no wise a propaganda; anything like propagandism is alien to its nature. It does not pretend to advocate any special opinion or set of opinions, nor will it consent to be a repertory of crotchets. It does not move in any particular groove. It only, in the most catholic sense, desires to investigate what is actually wanted, how much of that can practically be done, and what are the fittest or quickest means of effecting the same.

The case is well put in the introduction to its Transactions for 1861 in these words:—"The aim is to spread a belief in the truths of Social Science and to stimulate inquiry into the facts on which these are founded. Our meetings have brought together men who had hitherto held aloof from each other. In the atmosphere of free discussion, in the exchange of information, in the debate of principles, and in the collision of opinion, such men discover each other's excellences or acquirements, and shake off in a day the prejudice of years. Nor must we overlook the effect produced by our meetings in the towns we have visited. A higher tone of municipal government, a more active attention to sanitary and other civic duties, an impulse given to efforts for the prevention of evil, have been the monuments reared by the Association of its brief

but busy presence. In each town we have left behind a body of men animated with the desire to carry out the ideas they have received, who become in their turn the source of fresh knowledge to others. Such results are not unworthy recompense for the generous welcome that has always been given to us."

There is one other point in connection with the Association which deserves at the present time to receive particular attention. It will be observed that of the Presidents the majority are members of the aristocracy. Some, too, are commoners, but they, again, belong mostly to the titled classes. Several, also, are eminent Conservatives, while several are equally eminent as Liberals. All this adds one more to the hundred proofs already existing to show how truly popular the members of the British aristocracy are; how immediately the eye of the public turns to them when any good work is to be done; how ready they are to lend their *prestige* and repute, and to sacrifice their convenience and devote their time, to the cause of progress; how active they are in taking the lead of measures concerning the real welfare of the community. They regard, as they have always regarded, their historic dignity as a trust to be exercised for the benefit of the people. The Presidentship is by no means a nominal office, which a nobleman may hold as an ornament, or as a figure-head. On the con-

trary, it is one that demands his attention and his thought, which necessitates his considering the popular needs and his entering especially into the feelings of the careworn or suffering classes; nor has there ever been wanting a distinguished nobleman prepared to give the time and the trouble which are required for the full discharge of the duties which the office imposes.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FALL OF KHARTUM.*

Fate of Gordon and of Khartum—Position and achievements of the Mahdi—Muhammadan subjects of England—British relations with Muhammadan states and countries—The Hindu race belonging to the British Empire—Elements of British power in the East—Material and moral forces—The Empire of opinion—The Keys of India—Events in the Sudan as affecting the Oriental mind—Interest felt by Oriental races in the foreign policy of England—The Vernacular Press of India—Reasons for vindicating the death of Gordon—Historical precedents—General effect of events in the Sudan—Desirability of retrieving misfortunes there.

IN reference to the events of 1885 in the Sudan, it is of importance to arrive at an opinion as to the effect which the fall of Khartum and the fate of General Gordon are likely to have on the Native mind in India, and whether the re-capture of that place by British arms was necessary, or highly desirable, for maintaining that Empire of Opinion which belongs to us in the East.

On so serious a question as this anything like

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violence of expression is to be deprecated. Some may say hastily, that, as a victorious advance was not at once made on Khartum, India will be in a ferment, and the Muhammadans will think that the Cross is yielding to the Crescent—and so on. We should rather try to approach the matter in a calm temper, and use moderate, even guarded, language—remembering that what we say and write in London is likely to be criticised by Oriental as well as by European readers.

Now, allowing that lustre has been shed on British arms during the expedition on the Upper Nile, and that victory was snatched from almost within our grasp, through no military default of our own—we must all admit that the fate of Khartum and of Gordon has been a considerable misfortune, likely to move all Oriental minds and to stir deeply the Muhammadan heart. The Arabs have fought with a furious devotion, recalling the memory of the early Caliphate. The Mahdi for many months maintained a persistent defiance. His tribal organisation withstood the discouragement of several bloody defeats. The old enthusiasm for the Great Prophet, and for a succession of lesser prophets down to this day, is thus proved to be still burning in the souls of some hundreds of thousands of fanatics. The combined result has been to foil for a time the trained legions of England. The immediate retrieval of this check is not to be expected. The Desert is the oft-tried

ally of the sunburnt followers of Islam. And the spectacle of white soldiery toiling along the thirsty sands is impressive to all people, especially to Muhammadans. The Sudanese may be in rebellion against their sovereign, the Sultan, and his deputy the Khedive; they may be slaveholders fighting for slavery—no matter, they are waving the green banner in the face of the infidels from Europe.

Moreover, the position of Gordon will have been regarded quite as highly by Indians and all Orientals as by the most patriotic Englishman. They will have looked upon him as an envoy bearing the commission of England and clothed with English authority. His fate will be in their eyes a case of *laesa majestas* for England.

This situation then has been embarrassing to England as the Power which of all Powers has the greatest number of Muhammadan subjects. The Sultan of Turkey may have so many millions, so may the Shah of Persia. France may have some millions of Moslems in North Africa, so may Russia in Central Asia. But what are any of these totals compared with the forty millions of Muhammadans directly under British rule in India, besides the many millions under British control or British influence in Afghanistan, Beluchistan, the shores of the Persian Gulf, Southern Arabia, Zanzibar, and Eastern Africa? We have, too, a position to maintain with the purely Muhammadan States; we have to prop up the totter-

ing independence of Persia and of Turkey ; under the arrangement of 1878 we have a certain sort of protectorate over Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. For England, thus holding the very first political position in the Muhammadan world, it is a serious affair to have been thwarted under arms, and to have been kept at bay in the mid-valley of the Nile.

Nor do the Anglo-Muhammadans constitute the only subject or dependent nationality in which political fermentation is possible, and which is affected by the sight of British reverses. The entire Hindu race, making up the largest item, numerically, in the British Empire, notes whether the star of England is in the ascendant ; and among them several tribes—notably, the Mahrattahs, the Sikhs, the Gorkhas—are susceptible of national emotions. Some considerable sections of the Buddhists, too, especially the Burmese, are on the watch.

Without attempting to minimise the Khartum events, we should decline to admit that they give any immediate shock to British dominion in the East. This dominion is too well founded to be shaken all at once ; it bears up against the yet graver mishaps that occur in this quarter and in that. The blows of adversity must needs descend from time to time, but the back of British power is strong enough to bear them ; indeed, as a political force, that power would not be worth much unless

it possessed a vital endurance. Nevertheless, this check in the face of Khartum and of the Sudan is just one of those events which, if left un-retrieved, might prove a link in a chain of circumstances that would hereafter drag down the British Empire in the East.

To understand the operation of these adverse causes, let us reflect for a moment on what our power in India rests? Professor Seeley, in Lectures III. and IV. Course II. of his recent work, "The Expansion of England," has shown that we hold that vast India, not by conquest, nor by any masterful force, but through the goodwill or the consent of the people there. This argument, though somewhat nakedly and incisively put by the brilliant author, has much truth in it. Let us analyze, however, the main elements in this imperial tenure. Though some classes, such as the native Christians, the Parsis, the banking caste, are bound up with us; though many native princes are closely interested in England as their paramount; though there are touching instances of individual fidelity not to be surpassed in any age or clime—yet we are not to expect from the Indians in the mass that loyalty which Englishmen feel towards England. We must rather understand that in fact Indians sigh for the secular, as well as the spiritual, supremacy of their religion, and for a polity that shall be their own. These blessings, however, being unattain-

able, they submit in this (for them) "iron age" to British rule. .

The factors, then, in our power over the Indian people are these :

1. Good government, better far than anything that has ever been had, or could otherwise be got nowadays; and this, despite faults or shortcomings.

2. A popular goodwill hence arising, and an acquiescence in a system which is the only popular one, if quiet is to be enjoyed by a much-vexed and long-suffering people.

3. The existence, in the country itself, of English military force, and the conviction that a still greater English force exists beyond the sea.

4. The certainty that any outrage against British people will be visited with a punishment which, though not vindictive at all, must be adequate.

5. The cohesion of Englishmen among themselves, all acting with one mind against Oriental adversaries.

6. The tenacity of English purpose, the anxiety of Englishmen for doing that which they have once said they would do, and for adhering to their word.

Now among these six factors of British ascendancy over the Indian mind two only are material, while the remaining four are moral. This is an analysis of what is meant by the Empire of Opinion. And the factors are interdependent; none of them

would be efficacious without the others; in combination they are like stones of an arch, forming a compact mass; if any one of them be taken out there is danger of collapse. The just government, and the goodwill therefrom resulting, would not save our rule without the military force on the spot. Nor would any force that we could maintain there be at all sufficient, unless the people were in the main well-disposed. But, even with these cardinal advantages, it would be hard for Europeans to preserve their position if, being few and far between, constantly surrounded by infinitely superior numbers, confronted too with fanatical violence, they were liable to attack and outrage. Therefore the sanctity of European life, as a vivid idea, has always been kept in a strong light before the mind of Indians. The certainty of condign punishment following outrage is stamped on their imagination. They are taught by oft-repeated experience that it is not only dangerous but futile to assail British rule through the persons of its representatives. If a British Officer is struck down murderously, not only is the slayer doomed, but the Government remains undaunted and the gap is instantly filled. In a hundred ways is this lesson taught to the evil-disposed. The cohesion of Englishmen in time of public trouble—so unlike the practice of Orientals—is a marvel to Indians, and is regarded as one of the secrets of our political success. The phrase

referring to unity of will has a perfect counterpart in the Indian language, as "ek rai;" the words "one mind" and the words "ek rai," in the English and the Indian respectively, have the same significance and are applied to the same circumstances precisely. It is violent disunion among themselves that has caused the Indians to be a subject-nation for many centuries; they think, then, that it is the ultimate union among her sons, despite differences of opinion, which makes England the mistress. If there were disruption, if one set of Englishmen were to aim at spoiling the national policy, if the minority applied itself to frustrate the measures adopted by the majority—as is usually the case with Orientals—then British rule would crumble away, despite all its other forces. But the Indians see that this disunion never comes to pass. Again, the strong tendency of England towards doing that which she has declared she will do, is thoroughly understood by the Indians, and that is a wholesome belief for them to entertain. Agitation—which if unchecked among a vast and excitable population would be embarrassing—is thus checked. Infirmity of purpose and vacillation in action are among the well-known faults of Asiatics; but the Indians believe that the British faults lie in the very opposite direction, and British persistency commands even the unwilling admiration of opponents. Lastly,

above and beyond all these factors, there is the knowledge that British rule has a national basis beyond "the black water." Such knowledge has been ever present with the Indians; they see that our material power in India is strong, and has been augmented by mechanical means within the last few years; still they know that, on the spot, this alone would never be strong enough, were it not backed by ulterior resources in the home of the British race. This principle was exemplified when in 1857 England sent out a fresh European army to re-establish her dominion after the back of the Indian Mutiny had been broken. Doubtless it is to this that English statesmen refer when they speak of "the keys" not being in Calcutta or in any political centre adjacent to India, but in London.

Now let us apply the consideration of these factors to the case of Khartum and Gordon. Inasmuch as, after having gone so far, we have paused, several of the moral forces embodied in these factors must have been weakened, if not shaken. Let any person acquainted with the East, and free from political bias one way or the other, quietly reflect as to what the Indians will think of us now that we have hesitated? They must have been surprised to see that, after undertaking to rescue Gordon and his faithful adherents from Khartum, after despatching an expedition for hundreds of miles up

the Nile with well-equipped troops of the bravest type, under a renowned General like Wolseley, after collecting marine resources from distant quarters for river navigation past cataract-rapids heretofore deemed impassable, we flinched and held back at the final crisis? It were vain to tell Orientals that after our hard-won successes on the Nile, and in the Nile desert, we had done enough to vindicate British authority. They will have wondered whether we found the enterprise too hard for completion, or the resistance too stiff, or whether the further we penetrated the weaker we felt, and so on. It were equally vain to define to them any limitation of the objects of the expedition, to explain that it was intended only to rescue Gordon and his garrison, if alive. They will not really comprehend this; they will say that we went to take and occupy that city which Gordon had so long defended. They will not consider that we were at all committed to stay permanently in Khartum or to set up British rule there. But they will have expected us to vindicate our authority, to evince our mastery, and then, if we saw fit, to retire with honour after settling the country in such form as might be practicable. They have seen us thus retire on several occasions previously, and would not be surprised to see us do so again. But they have never seen us retire in the face of an enemy *re infectâ*. To begin showing them such a novel sight

nowadays, right in front of Khartum, was morally dangerous. A retirement which they would regard as premature must have weakened their faith in several of the factors which constitute the moral basis of our power in the East. They may perhaps begin to doubt whether, as of yore, there is a certainty of punishment following the death of Europeans and their trusty adherents ; whether England is now quite as united within herself in the presence of trouble as she has heretofore been ; whether she has still the tenacious adherence as of old to her line once taken up ; whether she has yet that resourcefulness at her Imperial headquarters which has long been the centre of power radiating almost throughout the world. If doubt on these cardinal points were really to creep into the Indian mind, then a sap is begun near the basement of British rule. A sapping process may be slow, but it is generally sure.

In the Khartum case there are two points specially provocative to the Indian mind. The city was not taken by the Mahdi, but its gate was opened to him through the treachery of certain persons in command of Gordon's own troops. Presumably the traitors are now in power within Khartum, enjoying the fruit of their treachery. By virtue of all Oriental precedents they ought to have been proceeded against, not revengefully, but punitively. They should have been brought as criminals

to the bar. If they were in force, then Indians will think that, according to British traditions, this is all the greater reason why superior force ought to have been exerted against them. Again, it is reported that the families have been murdered of those faithful men who issued forth from Khartum to join us. If, on inquiry, this were proved to be true, then not only does English honour dictate, but also the exigency of Asiatic opinion requires, that we should do our utmost to bring these women-slayers to justice. Our character stands so high that no Oriental will permit himself to doubt our loyalty to duty in this respect, or our energetic sympathy with the griefs of those faithful ones who have suffered in our cause. But, if any indifference on our part were suspected, the effect on the Indian mind would be most injurious.

In these times, day by day, the spread of education is rendering the Indians more and more intelligent in respect of politics as of other things; more and more appreciative of all the weak as well as of the strong points in the British Empire. Consequently we are obliged to pay increasing heed to public opinion among them. To their sentiments, or to what may be regarded by some as their prejudices, we have always been considerate. But it is only of late that their political opinion has become developed, and we must now attend to that also. In this matter the fast-growing Vernacular Press

is a prime mover; but further, the Anglo-Indian press—which is specially skilled in collating the news of the world at large—disseminates information not only among its English constituents, but also among a circle of Indian readers who have learnt our language. The most cursory glance at the events of the last few years, as concerning the British in the East, will show how very much of *pabulum* has been afforded to those who supply political news to the Indians. We need not look so far back as the time from 1877 to 1879, with the Afghan operations, the Zulu campaign, the Russo-Turkish war, the Berlin Conference—all of which sensibly moved the Indian mind. Even if there was a brief lull after that, we readily see how fast has been the march of events specially interesting to Indians. For the last five or six years the Indian press, both in the English and in the Vernacular, has been retailing to the people the news of the subjugation of the Turcomans, and the subjugation of Merv by Russia, the introduction of railways into Central Asia, the bombardment of Alexandria, the victories of Wolseley over Arabi, the hard fighting near Suakin, the operations of the French in Tunis, in Madagascar, in Tonquin, in Formosa; the critical situation of the Chinese Government; the expansion of Germany in the Australasian archipelago; the beginning of establishments on the Red Sea shore by France and

Italy ; the British protectorate in New Guinea, and elsewhere ; the progress of the Borneo Company. Irrespective of other events in which India may feel a secondary interest, these events above mentioned are considered by Indians as primarily interesting. In some cases the course of affairs has been in favour of England, in other cases against her. We can but hope that the effect of the whole upon the Indian mind has not been prejudicial. But we should be flattering ourselves if we imagined that the Indian mind is restful and quite confident in respect of us, or that it is entirely free from anxious suspense on our account. The good old reliance is still sustained when they see that England is aroused ; nor is it immediately damaged even by the concussion of adverse events. It has grown gradually, and unless we incur some unusual disasters, it will wane as gradually, if indeed we ever permit it to wane, as I hope we shall not.

Still, with all that has happened within the Indian purview during recent years, and is still happening, we ought to have been doubly careful that nothing should go wrong with us in the Egyptian Sudan. And we ought to have dealt with Khartum in a manner to be deemed worthy of us, not only by Europe and by Egypt, but also by the Oriental nationalities under our charge.

The attitude of the Vernacular Press of India has not been wholly satisfactory towards political

affairs. In many respects it has been well-disposed, and in some respects signally loyal; but in matters of foreign policy it has been sometimes very disloyal. So grave were the symptoms some years ago, that special legislation had to be passed temporarily. Afterwards this restriction was abandoned, and we must trust that the Vernacular Press will prove fit to proceed unrestricted. Even if nothing politically objectionable appears in vernacular print nowadays, yet native publicists are writing about the advance of Russia in Central Asia. They even discuss the effect which such movements may have on British policy in India, assuming apparently that Russia is sufficiently near to attract the regard of England, and possibly to modify the conduct of the English towards the Indians. All such assumptions are, of course, to be deprecated; indeed, their existence in any shape is inconvenient. Again, the organs of native opinion seem to be increasingly ambitious of political power within India itself. Now, local self-government in India is a most commendable thing, but there must be a limit even to that while we hold the reins and are answerable for guiding as well as defending the State. And, while encouraging all legitimate aspirations, we are sorry to see that some aspirations spring up which are not legitimate, and can only end in disappointment.

The inference from these phenomena is clear,

that we ought to have looked well to the dignity of our political conduct respecting Khartum and Gordon, for the sake of public opinion in India, over and above all other considerations. The natives have a retentive memory for antecedents. It was the memory of certain circumstances in the Afghan war of 1840-1 that suggested, in conjunction with other reasons, the Indian Mutiny sixteen years later. God grant that our short-comings in the attempted advance on Khartum may not put mischief hereafter into the thoughts of the evil-disposed in India.

On hearing of the fate of Gordon at Khartum the natives of India will recall several precedents. They will think how Macnaghten was treacherously murdered at Caubul in 1841, and a British army of retribution retook that capital; how Agnew was cut down at Multan in 1848, predicting with his latest words that, where he fell singly, there thousands of his countrymen would come to punish his slayers—a prediction which was fulfilled; how, in 1857, during the great mutiny, the government, merciful in many ways, and ready to grant amnesty to rebels, was inflexible in prosecuting those who had been concerned in the murder of Europeans; how, in 1879, Cavagnari at Caubul, with his escort, a little band, was destroyed by armed multitudes, and within some few weeks a

British force entered the guilty city. They will probably hold that the case of Gordon at Khartum falls within the category of these precedents; and as yet they believe that England is constant to her traditions. Many lesser precedents might be cited, but the case of Gordon is so grand, that it should not be compared with any Indian precedents, save the most striking.

I have said that the personal safety of Europeans in the East, though by no means inviolable, is generally inviolate because of the fear which possesses the Indian mind. Nevertheless, untoward events occur from time to time which, though they fail to disturb the even tenour of British administration, do yet serve to keep alive a jealous vigilance, such as the assassination of a Frontier Commissioner in 1853, of a Chief Justice in 1871, of a Viceroy in 1872, and the attempt to poison a political Resident in 1875. In these instances treachery was a main element. Gordon's fate will come home to the Indian mind almost as if he had been in India; and that, too, was due to treachery. Again, while it is true that on the whole a Roman peace has reigned in India, still not a year elapses without troops being called into the field for some service or the other, and no decade has passed without some internal *émeutes*. Take the last decade from 1870 to 1880. In that short space there was a fanatical outbreak near the Satlej,

in the Punjab, a rising in the hill country near the east coast of the Madras Presidency, an attempted rising in Sonthalia on the Behar border, a violent agrarian disturbance in Bengal, a bad Muhammadan plot centering in Patna and branching to Calcutta, a formidable riot at Surat in Guzerat, an organized plundering in the Bombay Deccan, besides other instances that might be adduced. All these show that India has inflammable material which untoward events, happening anywhere within Indian view, might easily ignite.

Further, though we have the main factors of strength, moral and material, already enumerated, though we may count on the faithful loyalty of the Native Princes, the active goodwill of the moneyed classes, the passive contentment of the great agricultural interest,—still we must reckon with several sections of discontent. Some of the priestly classes see their influence melting away in the sunlight of British civilization. Some titled clans have unavoidably lost wealth and status by the change from native to British rule. Some restless spirits cannot find a scope for immoderate ambition under a stable system like ours. There is a mob, too, which seems to have a nucleus in every Indian capital, and which usually breaks out if by any chance the civil power happens to be momentarily embarrassed. Though we have every right

to expect loyalty from the educated classes trained through our language in our modes of thought, yet we cannot depend unreservedly upon that. For, although the great majority of this class are happily loyal, still some, forming a minority, which we cannot estimate with exactness, are vaguely discontented to a degree which verges on disloyalty. Thus, although our Eastern power is safe, so long as we do the best for ourselves everywhere, not only in India itself, but in all countries within its range of vision, still there are elements of insecurity which are not to be trifled with, and which might become dangerously aggravated if we permitted the moral force of opinion to be weakened. Certainly the Sudan does fall within this range. Besides the fact that the Mahdi has many millions of co-religionists in India, the employment of native Indian troops in Egypt, and in the littoral tract of the Sudan itself, and the contemplated employment of them again for service there, under certain contingencies, must keep the case of Gordon and Khartum uppermost in Indian thought. If Asiatics shall think that in front of Khartum the British Government has behaved in a manner different from that in which it has usually acted, then some unfavourable notions must sink deep in the Indian heart.

I have confined myself to the effect on the

Eastern mind likely to be produced by the events at Khartum, without in the least entering on the questions relating to Egypt, to the rest of Africa, or to Europe in connection therewith; all these are quite separate matters.

It may be added, however, that those who advocated the capture of Khartum were not actuated by any revengeful feelings against the Arabs, whose valour alone commands respect. We need not here consider how far the Mahdi and his Arabs were patriots fighting for their country, or fanatics striving for their religion, or slaveholders battling for slavery. They seized a town belonging to Egypt, and held by a garrison which England declared to be under her protection; they killed a British representative. They were, then, at war with us, and should have been subdued by military operations, conducted according to the rules of civilized warfare. They might be wounded or killed while fighting, otherwise they would not have been hurt, nor would any of them have been punished except on proof of actual crime.

In conclusion, then, if the various considerations now adduced are admitted, it follows that the fall of Khartum and the fate of Gordon must have had a bad effect upon India and the East, as the misfortune was not retrieved. From this point of view the recapture of the place was extremely

desirable; so desirable, indeed, that it becomes hard to draw the line between urgent expediency and necessity.*

* Since this paper was published, the steps at first taken by the British Government to repair this misfortune were virtually given up in May 1884, that is, very soon afterwards. Subsequently the death of the Mahdi himself, and the fall of Osman Digna, his bravest lieutenant, have relieved the situation of its tension in some degree. But the attacks of the Arabs on the frontire of Egypt proper prove but too sadly that our military withdrawal from the Sudan has encouraged them in their hostility, and that the idea of British invincibility has not yet been admitted to the Arab mind.



CHAPTER VII.

ARMIES OF THE INDIAN PRINCES.*

Native forces belonging to the British Indian Government—
 Recruiting for this service—Limited supply of fighting material—Actual strength of Native forces in the British service—
 Military forces of the Native Indian States—Aggregate strength—Varying quality—Loyalty and trustworthiness—
 Native States offer their troops for British service in war-time—Question whether armies of Indian Princes are too numerous—Difficulty in reducing these armies—Best way of rendering them available and useful to the Empire—Their employment in war—Their value for garrison duty in British India—They constitute an addition to the imperial resources.

At a time† when—in reference to certain contingencies—we are reckoning up the military resources of India, it is important to consider in general terms what really are the Native forces of that Empire.

* Reprinted from the *Contemporary Review* for March 1885.

† When this paper was published our relations with Russia were severely strained by the affairs on the Afghan frontier, and preparations for war were being actively made.

As is well known, the Native troops belonging to the British Indian Government, and bound to serve the British Sovereign, number about 130,000 men of all arms. They are distributed among the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and consist of three armies—that is, one army in each of the three presidencies. This total strength is certainly moderate for so extensive and populous an Empire as India. From motives of policy as well as of finance, it has been kept comparatively low ever since the mutiny of 1857, and is now hardly half as large as it was before that grave epoch. It is really on a peace footing—that is to say, in time of profound tranquillity the Government could not do with fewer Native soldiers. In time of war or trouble it would have to be increased considerably. And to a certain extent such increase would be practicable—that is to say, the men necessary for the augmentation could be procured. In former days such augmentation would have been easily feasible. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that a recruiting authority had only to hold up his hand and a hundred men would spring forward, while the head of a district could embody a thousand soldiers almost with a stroke of the pen. There was thus a current belief that the Indian Government, with 200 millions of Asiatic subjects under its sway, besides more than 50 millions in the Native States, had a virtually unlimited supply of soldiers avail-

able. There might be difficulty in arming, equipping, maintaining, and transporting very large forces. But in procuring the men there would be, it was believed, no difficulty whatever, and in actual experience there was much ground for this belief. For some time past, however, this condition of things has been changing. The progress of the change was duly known to the authorities, and within the last few years its effects have become plainly apparent. Indeed, during the last Afghan war in 1878-80, it forced itself on the consideration of the authorities. Just then, almost for the first, perhaps for the very first, time in the military history of India, there was, if not exactly a difficulty, at any rate a want of facility, in obtaining a sufficiency of good recruits. The phenomenon was more perceptible in the Bombay Presidency than anywhere else, but it was seen also in several of the districts whence the best troops of the Bengal army are drawn.

The causes of the change are not very far to seek. In some respects they may produce disappointment; but if unsatisfactory to the military commander, or to the political administrator, they are satisfactory to the economist and the philanthropist. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that there is no such thing as conscription in India. Not only are the forces raised by voluntary enlistment, but this enlistment has been either for all the working days of

a lifetime, or else for a long term. The military service has been regarded as a life-long provision, affording subsistence during the active years and a pension in old age. Dismissal from the service has been dreaded as a heavy punishment, turning a man loose on the world, and upsetting all his plans. The long continuance of war, rapine, and revolution formerly restricted all ordinary and civil occupations. The profession of arms, in its various branches, regular and irregular, dominated over all other professions, and often almost absorbed them. Employment was generally scanty, work slack, and wages low. Agriculture was depressed by spoliation or devastation, and enterprise retarded. On the other hand, the military wage was higher than the wages ordinarily earned in civil employments. Again, by the breaking up of defeated armies belonging to conquered nationalities, and the disbandment of levies, large numbers of men were thrown out of that employ to which they had become accustomed. Consequently the comparative high military pay offered by the British Government, and the prospective permanency of its service, proved very attractive to many people. Hence, the ranks of the army were brimming full, and there were numbers always waiting at the gates of military authority hoping for admission. This tendency doubtless grew less and less as British rule became established, and as the country settled down. But the

tradition long survived, and indeed lasted with but little diminution up to the epoch of 1857. When during the disturbances which followed that wonderful outbreak local levies were wanted in many districts, the ease with which the district officers obtained men caused an impression that the supply of soldiers was still unimpaired. But after the restoration of peace an improved era set in, being produced by causes affecting many other countries besides India. Public works, notably railways and canals, were constructed on a scale and at a speed previously unknown. New industries sprang up, and there was a general movement in society. Employment became brisk, and wages rose. Thus in every direction the population, which always had a tendency to increase, multiplied faster than ever. All this made cultivation expand, and the rising agriculture enlarged the sphere of occupation. Further, many local establishments, notably the police, became more highly organized, and were better paid than formerly, and thus again many were drawn into civil employ. The police department, particularly, engaged many who would in former days have enlisted in the army or joined local levies.

Thus able-bodied men, affording good fighting material, became less inclined than formerly to enlist in the army, unless the military pay should be appreciably raised. The Government, however,

did not raise it appreciably, owing to financial considerations. Endeavours were made by judicious concessions here and there, by cautious augmentation of allowances now and then, to heighten the value of the military service in the eyes of the labouring classes, but that was all. Consequently the army was no longer the prize profession which it once had been. Moreover, with the Indian races, the martial spirit decays from desuetude. Tribes which, fifty years ago, were notoriously addicted to arms are now comparatively unwarlike. With training and discipline the Native troops will still behave very well; but with the masses of them there is hardly now the predilection for the fight, the instinct of physical contention, that there used to be. Then, as their homes become happier, their acres broader, their harvest richer, and their habits more domestic, they care not, as erst they cared, to turn out and arm, to march towards distant frontiers, and to live far away from their families. Thus, although a decided augmentation of military pay—supposing that Government could afford this, which, however, it could not—might offer a temptation to some and might attract additional men to the standards, yet it probably would not make a very marked difference. For the fact has come to pass that masses of men refrain from enlisting because they can do better at home; and no pay which the State reasonably could offer would induce them to

quit the places they love, and the work to which they are habituated.

Thus, although the British Indian Government can well maintain a native army of 130,000 men on a peace footing, which might be raised on emergency to a war footing—although it could put, say, two army corps into the field, and could muster a great force for internal defence—still, it has not for general purposes, or in the ordinary sense of the term, an indefinitely large supply of available soldiers. It may once have had such a supply, but it has not now. Probably, the thought of the mighty numbers of the Indian people may give foreign nations the idea that the supply is still inexhaustible; perhaps the prevalence of such an idea may be salutary. But Englishmen will doubtless desire to measure the national strength in this particular, so that they may be under no delusion in quiet times, and may suffer no disappointment in the day of need.

If, from one point of view, the actual truth may give rise to some anxiety, may render our military confidence one degree or so lower, still it is consoling from other points of view. For it goes to show that, whatever may be thought by some to the contrary, India is prospering, that there is no lack of subsistence, no shrinkage of occupation, no discontent with the wages at home, and, in consequence, no searching for wages abroad; that the

people are not pressed for food, and are not getting poorer and poorer. Indeed, a more significant, even a more signal, proof of India's domestic prosperity could hardly be adduced than this growing trouble in respect to recruiting, if trouble it ought to be called.

But apart from political economy and social progress, and apart from the comparative paucity in numbers of the Native army belonging to the British Government, we may well be led, for military reasons, to consider whether this Native army represents the only Native force at the ultimate disposal of the Indian Government, and whether there are not other military resources that can be called out in case of necessity. To this question it may be answered that happily there are such additional resources.

To any one who takes a comprehensive survey of the military situation in India, it will be obvious that there are large forces in the Native States, a part of which forces would, if required, be loyally placed at the disposal of the British Government. It may be well here to recollect that these States are of many sorts and sizes. Statistically, their total number is 450, but not more than one-tenth of this number represents States capable of putting troops into the field. In round figures they have, in the aggregate, an area of 500,000 square miles, and a population of more than 50 millions of souls.

The sum-total of their revenues cannot be precisely stated, but may probably exceed 15 millions sterling annually. Though sovereigns in their own dominions, the Native Princes are all more or less under the control of the British Government, as suzerain and paramount power. The aggregate of their forces cannot be stated with the precision which would arise from regular returns. But it has often been collated in general terms, and may be set forth approximately as follows:—

		Men.
Cavalry, regular	. .	15,000
„ irregular	. .	53,000
Artillery „	. .	5,000*
Infantry, regular	. .	90,000
„ irregular	. .	182,000
Total	. .	<hr/> 345,000

This total will at once appear very large; but as a statistical fact it can hardly be far from the reality. An inquirer will at once say:—If, with 200 millions of population, the British Government maintains a native army of only 130,000 men, how can the Native States, with a population of 50 millions, maintain forces amounting to 345,000 men? Indeed, the comparison is at first sight wonderful, but may be

* 1,000 guns of all sorts.

partly at least accounted for in various ways. First, in most (though not in all) of these States, the armed forces include what, in British territory, would be reckoned as regular police. Now the regular police of British India has a strength of 147,000 men, more or less armed and drilled. If these were added to the British Native army the total would be 277,000, a figure still below the nominal strength of the forces in the Native States. But when due allowance has been made for this, and also for the consideration that there is a European army in India besides the Native, there remain the two facts—first, that the Native States have a far larger proportion of troops than the British territory; second, that they have a greater facility in procuring men than the British Government. What, it will be asked, can be the causes of this greater facility? Well, one cause can be nothing less than this, that in the Native States employment and wages are not so good, prosperity not so expansive, as in the British territories. Consequently, the military wage in the Native States is relatively higher and men are more ready to accept it. By the endowments of nature, the Native States are physically less rich, more rugged, hilly, or mountainous than the British territories. Therefore the population is less settled or fixed in its habits, and more willing to adopt the migratory life of the camp and the cantonment. Again, in the Native States the

peaceful elements are less dominant than in the British territories; consequently, the people are more retentive of their martial traditions and less disposed to turn the sword into the ploughshare. Whereas we have just seen how under British rule the warlike spirit among the natives—in the absence of that patriotism which always animates the European races—rapidly wanes. The above comparison is made in general terms only, and there are large exceptions on both sides. For instance, there are some native territories as rich, peaceful, and prosperous as they well could be. On the other hand, there are some British districts wild, poor, and warlike.

Of course, there is a great difference in quality, and it is impossible to hazard any statement of the number of men really effective out of the 345,000. Nor could any such precision be attained without an inspection of these forces by British officers, a measure out of the question for many reasons. In general terms it may be stated that a small part only is really efficient. But out of so large a whole as this a small part would represent a considerable force, which might be wielded as a potent auxiliary by an organising power like the British. And, if we made up our minds to draw largely upon this resource, it would be very possible to improve the quality of a great part of these forces.

An inquirer will next ask about the loyalty and

trustworthiness of these forces? Well, they are as loyal and trustworthy as the Native army of the British Government, and as the natives of India generally. Native loyalty depends largely, no doubt, on that good and just administration which will, as we may hope, always be maintained. But it also, in part, depends on the opinion which the people have regarding British pride, power, and resolution, also regarding British resources. If that opinion be high, as it has hitherto been, if England proves herself equal to emergencies, as she has heretofore proved, then the forces of the Native States will be as well disposed as the rest of their countrymen. If England were to fall back, or vacillate, or deteriorate generally, then all India would begin to shake, and, of course, these Native forces would feel the concussion, and would succumb to temptation. But it happens that there are particular causes which tend to keep these forces loyal, and might induce them, for a while at least, to withstand temptation. For, their immediate masters, their Native Sovereigns, are bound in many ways to the British Government. The fact is, that, if the British power were to collapse, most of the Native States would be smothered in the ruins, and that they know full well. If a revolution in India were to succeed, there would be a cataclysm in which the Native States would be overwhelmed, and their sovereigns victimized. We may trust that such a

thing can never happen, and certainly it will not happen while the British power holds together. Still the Native Sovereigns, knowing themselves to be safe as feudatories of the British Empire, dread any chance of change in the Imperial status, and look to the British Government as their protector and as the Atlas sustaining the burden of the general defence. It was this feeling which helped to keep the Native States conspicuously loyal during the crisis of 1857. And this loyalty of theirs was one of the factors that enabled the British to weather that perilous storm. No doubt some of their troops did mutiny at that time, but this was only after our own Native troops had mutinied extensively, and when many natives might be excused for imagining that the knell of England in the East had sounded. On the other hand some of their troops were eminently loyal, and rendered service which, if not very effective in the field, was yet potent in the moral effect produced on native opinion throughout the country. Like the rest of their countrymen, they feel always a veneration, and often an affection, for their indigenous sovereigns. Thus a strong influence is brought to bear upon them, tending to keep them in the path of rectitude and to withdraw them from revolutionary temptations.

Ever since that time, on various occasions, some of these forces have volunteered, or their services have been proffered by the Native States to the

British Government, for duty in the field. Several contingents were thus employed on the Trans-Indus frontier during the last Afghan War. Had it been desired, some of them would have been found ready to form part of the expedition which was despatched to Malta in 1878. The other day some of them volunteered to serve in Egypt. They are sure to volunteer if any operations shall ever be undertaken on the Russo-Afghan frontier. In no case has the Government asked for any of them, or even given the least hint to that effect. The truth is that the Native States like the distinction of serving the Empire; they justly consider that such service consolidates their position politically. Many of their men enjoy the prospect of seeing new things and fresh faces, and a cheery sentiment is diffused among them. The spirit thus arising spreads to British districts, and tends to raise the spirits of the people in the whole Indian Empire.

It will be said, no doubt, by those who contemplate the high figures shown above for the strength of these forces in the Native States, that this strength is much too high, that it even constitutes a danger to the Empire. Indeed, this apprehension has long been entertained by several Anglo-Indian statesmen. Manifestly the subject is a delicate one. On the one hand, the British Government keeps a watchful eye on the strength of these troops of its allies and feudatories, and steadily strives to

prevent their augmentation. Although here and there some increase may have occurred, there may have been counterbalancing decreases. On the whole, it may be said, that, while the present strength is too high, still it is not higher now than it has been ever since the establishment of the Indian Empire, say since 1825. What, then, could the British Government do judiciously in this matter? It could hardly approach the Native States with proposals for a reduction of their forces. Such a measure would provoke very inconvenient misapprehensions, and no Anglo-Indian statesman or diplomatist would be found to recommend it. The Government can and does instruct its representatives at the Native Courts to press upon their respective States the expediency of moderation in warlike armament and military expenditure. In some cases, also, there are conventions limiting and specifying the armaments to be maintained by the Native States; and care is taken that these engagements are carried into effect. Possibly, as the Native States improve their administration, they may gradually and quietly dispense with the least organised of their forces, or rather convert these nominal soldiers into police or other civil establishments. Perhaps they may limit recruiting; or, again, as they grow in prosperity, they may find the same difficulty which the British Government has found in obtaining men at the

wage they can afford to give. But, even if they wished to effect any reduction by discharging soldiers, they would hardly dare to attempt it. However familiar the term "discharge" may be to us British people, it is not only unfamiliar with natives, but very unpopular. It is opposed to their ideas and traditions. The British Government has indeed discharged native soldiers and disbanded regiments repeatedly. But it never lulled itself into the belief that this occasionally necessary measure was popular. Besides, the British Government is systematic and resolute, which Native States are not. Indeed, these States will never willingly essay anything like discharge or disbandment, and it might be dangerous for them to do so. For that might bring about some internal trouble with which they are not quite competent to cope. All this, though unavoidable, is to be regretted politically and economically. For, the Native States do not actually need anything like all the forces they maintain, and the cost is a needless drain upon their finances. Though they have elements of internal trouble, still they are protected against all external danger by the ægis of the British Government.

On the whole, then, it would not be within the scope of practical politics to expect that any considerable diminution can at present take place in the military forces of the Native States. Having

got them, we should, instead of vainly lamenting, endeavour to make the best of them. A little consideration will show that something advantageous may be made of them, and that they may in some degree be rendered valuable.

There can be no doubt that in the event of any serious complication in Central Asia, or Egypt, or the Levant, or elsewhere, we should be very short of British Native Indian troops, if we wished to despatch any considerable number of them beyond the limits of British India. It has been seen above that any rapid augmentation of the regular Native army might be troublesome or inconvenient. But among the forces of the Native States, as just described, we have material ready to hand for general service. If it were desired to take over enough of them to make up a full army corps,—from 35,000 to 40,000 men,—why that could be managed at once; and, according to the Asiatic type of troops, they would be capital men too. They would serve us with alacrity, while fully preserving their dutiful allegiance to their respective States. The measure would be popular in the Native States also. Such troops might either take part of the duty of the Native army in India—relieving that army so far, and releasing it for foreign service—or else might be sent abroad together with the British army. It would be best that they should see a little of both kinds of service. To employ 35,000 to 40,000 of

these men would be a moderate step, and would amount to a real accession of strength. Doubtless, if another 35,000 men or more were needed, making up the total to 70,000 or 80,000 men, such a contingent could be obtained from the Native States. But then other considerations would at once enter into our calculations. The necessary proportion of European troops must be remembered. For to go on augmenting the native armaments without preserving the due proportion of European troops would be dangerous. Of all precautions needed for imperial safety, none is so important as the preservation of this proportion.

If these auxiliary forces were engaged temporarily in the British service, there are several ways in which they might be employed. They might take the garrison duty at some of the stations in British India, especially at those stations where a part of the garrison is European. They might perform part of the watch and ward work on the Trans-Indus frontier and other frontiers. Particularly they might guard the long lines of our communications in the field or on a campaign, and this guardianship is a laborious but most essential operation, the value of which will be appreciated by all who have to do with military transport. It would not be well, however, that they should be employed entirely in work which, though essential, is in some sense subsidiary. A part of them should

proceed in company with the European troops to the very front of warfare. Let any one contemplate the contingency of our having to place a considerable European army in the field anywhere amidst Asiatic or North African regions, and say how convenient it would be to have an additional force of 35,000 or 70,000 troops of Native States, besides our own Native army, immediately available.

Here, then, is one military resource in India on which we have indeed a right to reckon, but on which we have not perhaps reckoned sufficiently. It remains to advert more particularly to the forces of some of the Native States. The troops of Sindhia are limited in number, but very well drilled and of fairly good material. Their discipline and organization would entitle them to be among the first selected for British employ. The troops of the Protected Sikh States are well drilled also and are of capital material; besides, they have glorious memories of fighting side by side with the British in 1857. The troops of Jammu-Cashmir are not quite equal to those last-mentioned, either in discipline or material, but they are passably good, and have also honourable traditions of co-operating with us in the war of the mutiny. From the Rajputana States some troops might be drawn, which, though neither well drilled nor highly organized, are full of mettle and spirit. From the Nizam's Deccan, too, some troops of the best Indian

Muhammadan stamp could be obtained. In the Deccan, again, there are Arab troops, as fighting-men first-rate. Whether under all the circumstances they could be advantageously employed may be a question. But if they were thus employed, and if they made up their minds to serve us, then all the world knows how admirably they would acquit themselves. It should be added that in point of national spirit and "high stomach" the Nepalese troops are remarkable, and in effective power the army of Nepal is superior to the forces of any Native State. That little army is composed partly of Gorkhas, and, without disparagement of any other element among the Indian armies, it may fairly be said that, all things taken together, the Gorkhas are the best Native troops that have yet been seen in India. The employment of Nepalese troops in our service would depend on political considerations which cannot conveniently be discussed.

CHAPTER VIII.

MEMOIR OF SIR BARTLE FRERE.*

Death of Sir Bartle Frere in May 1884—He enters the Bombay Civil Service in 1833—Is appointed Commissioner in Sindh in 1850—Renders signal service during the war of the Mutinies 1857-8—Becomes a member of the Government of India—Is appointed Governor of Bombay—Proceeds on a special mission to Zanzibar—Accompanies H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to India—Is Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and High Commissioner—Directs military operations to be undertaken against Zulu King—Returns to England in 1880—His services to Geography—His habits of inquiry—His public career—His personal qualities—His character, disposition, and genius.

ON 29th May, 1884, died the Right Honourable Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Baronet, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., at his residence, Wressil Lodge, Wimbledon. He was born in 1815, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on 5th June, 1884. By his death the Royal Geo-

* Reprinted from Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for July 1884.

graphical Society loses one of its most experienced and distinguished members. Therefore, a memorandum of his career necessarily claims a place in its annals.

Bartle Frere entered the Covenanted Civil Service of the East India Company in 1833, and was attached to the Bombay Presidency. He began his official life in the Bombay Deccan amidst the Mahratta people, and was employed in the settlement of the land revenue, a department which necessarily brings an officer into personal contact with the agricultural population. Then he became Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, Sir George Arthur, whose daughter he married; this lady has shared all the vicissitudes of his career, and is now his widow. As Private Secretary to the Governor at head-quarters, he enlarged the knowledge of which he had laid the practical foundation while working in the interior of the country. Then he became British Resident in the Native State of Sattara, which was afterwards incorporated in the British territories. Next he was appointed in 1850 by the then Governor of Bombay, Lord Falkland, to be Commissioner in Sindh. He was a young man for this post, which was (and is still) regarded as one of first-class importance — though it was then even more interesting than it is now. But his talent and aptitude for affairs of magnitude were recognised, notwithstanding his lack of seni-

ority. Though not exactly the immediate successor of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh, he was the man who really took up the mantle of that great "soldier-civilian." It was in Sindh that he won his spurs as "an all-round man" in administration on an extended scale, relating to revenue and finance, to public works and improvements, to judicial system, to educational beginnings, to the management of mixed communities European and Native, to diplomatic arrangements with Native Chiefs, and to frontier defence. Particularly in respect to the armed pacification of the Sindh frontier he entered into the traditions of Sir Charles Napier, and thoroughly sustained the officers who exercised the joint military and political command there, especially John Jacob, William Merewether, and Henry Green. He was fortunately in Sindh when the mutiny and rebellion of 1857 burst upon India. Though his position was somewhat isolated, he shifted well for himself and his province, making it a source of strength to the Indian Empire. He suppressed trouble within his own limits and spared European troops to help the southern Punjab. He won from John Lawrence the emphatic declaration that had Sindh—which belonged to the Bombay Presidency in fact—been an integral part of the Punjab, it could not have rendered more devoted support than it actually did. For his services at this juncture he received the

thanks of Parliament, and was appointed by the Queen to be K.C.B. He was shortly afterwards raised to a seat in the Council of the Governor-General at Calcutta, and left Sindh amidst the affectionate greetings of all classes. The public regard was signalised by the erection of a fine institution bearing his name at Karachi, the seaport and capital of the province. Thus, as Councillor, he was a member of the Government of India under Lord Canning as Governor-General, from 1858 to 1862. In that capacity he evinced all the ability which had been fostered by his previous career. He was a favourite with his colleagues in Council, and the right-hand man of the Governor-General. He greatly assisted the Government in reconstituting the administration in provinces which had been overrun by rebellion, and in reorganising that large portion of the Native army which had mutinied. He strove to maintain at its full height the high tone of the Government, rendering the administration both popular and respected. Then, from 1862 to 1866 he served as Governor of Bombay, a period chequered by the extremes of commercial prosperity and adversity, consequent on the rise in cotton during the American Civil War and the sudden depression of that staple of commerce when the conflict ended. His policy in reference to the State Bank of Bombay at this crisis was subjected to much criticism when that institution failed. Whatever the public verdict may

be as to his dealings with these adverse circumstances, there can be no doubt as to the masterly way in which he utilised the prosperous circumstances of that extraordinary time. For he seized the occasion to promote public works of material utility throughout Western India, to furnish Bombay with a series of structures that have made her one of the finest cities in the world, and to stimulate the wealthiest natives in a course of public-spirited benevolence. In three other cardinal respects he signalised his administration of the Bombay Presidency, namely, the revision of the settlement pertaining to the land revenue and to the registration of landed tenures, the beginning of local legislation under the newly-formed Legislative Council, and the promotion of national education. In 1866 he resigned the governorship of Bombay in order to take a seat in the Council of India under the Secretary of State in London; and was appointed by the Queen to be G.C.S.I. In 1872 he was deputed by Her Majesty's Government on a special mission to Zanzibar, with a view to the more effective suppression of the slave trade in East Africa and the neighbouring seas. He was then appointed a member of the Privy Council and a baronet of the United Kingdom. Shortly afterwards he signalised his unabated interest in the north-west frontier of India by a letter regarding Afghanistan, which on being published became his-

torical. In 1874-5 he accompanied His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, and his conduct on that most interesting and important occasion was graciously approved by His Royal Highness. In 1875 he was appointed by the Queen to be G.C.B. In 1877 he was appointed to be Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, and to be High Commissioner in regard to the relations between the South African Colonies and the native tribes. In that capacity he endeavoured to bring about a confederation of these Colonies, and, though the endeavour did not succeed, the failure did not arise from any shortcoming on his part. In his capacity as High Commissioner he directed the military operations to be undertaken against Cetewayo, the Zulu King, and the Zulu army which had become formidable and minatory. This undertaking of his was not approved by the British Government at the time, was severely criticised in the British Parliament, and was assailed by several organs of public opinion. On the other hand, the necessity under which he acted was, and still is, maintained by some well-informed authorities, and by many who are interested in the safety of the Colonies and the protection of the Native tribes. He afforded all the moral support that he could, consistently with his position, to the religious missions of all denominations, and his name is thankfully remembered by the missionaries. In 1880 he

returned to England on being relieved of his duties at the Cape of Good Hope. After his return home he was assiduous in writing and in speaking on the Oriental and Colonial affairs of which he had special experience. At the time of his being seized with mortal illness he was engaged in the preparation of a book relating to South Africa.

In 1867 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. at Oxford, and in 1874 that of LL.D. at Cambridge. He was also elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

During a portion of his widely-extended career he was an active Member of the Royal Geographical Society. He was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1867, and a member of its Council in 1868, in which capacity he continued to serve up to the time of his last illness. He was its President for the year 1873-4. Before 1867 he had evinced his interest in the Society's work by taking an active part in the equipment of Livingstone's last expedition to Central Africa. Indeed, when Governor of Bombay in 1865, he invited Livingstone to visit Western India, and encouraged the public-spirited citizens to raise subscriptions and organise transport means for the great traveller in the African enterprise. He also gave Livingstone an official letter for the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1866. Subsequently, while at Zanzibar in 1872, he superintended the despatch of the expedition under

Cameron for the relief of Livingstone. Returning home from his Zanzibar expedition, he read a paper on the geographical results of his mission. While President of the Society he took part in arranging the interment of Livingstone's remains in Westminster Abbey, and wrote an obituary notice of the great traveller. Under much difficulty also he consistently supported Stanley in the African explorations of 1873 and 1874. He further aided the cause of geography by acting as President of the Geographical Section of the British Association during the meeting at Exeter in 1869. Besides his Presidential Address on that occasion, he read a paper on the Runn of Cutch with the desert tract between India and Sindh, thereby evincing a remarkable knowledge of physical geography. While in South Africa he continually transmitted to the Royal Geographical Society information of value. On his last return to England he read, in November 1880, a paper on "Temperate South Africa." It would be impossible to mention the many occasions when by advising, by lecturing, by speaking publicly, he promoted the objects of this Society. He was indeed a born geographer, and had a high estimation of geography as being fundamentally essential to some branches of knowledge and as auxiliary to many others.

In fact his whole career, while qualifying him for

success in many pursuits, qualified him particularly for the pursuit of geography. His out-of-doors life during the early years spent in Western India—a region abounding in geographical phenomena—gave him a taste for natural scenery and quickened his perceptive powers. He thus had a quick and accurate eye for the features and configuration of a country. Then he had an inquiring mind, stimulated by laudable curiosity to know the why and the wherefore of everything that came under his observation. This habitual investigation was facilitated by his aptitude for eliciting information, not only from intelligent and competent people, but also from the rude peasantry. A quiet patient manner of talking is needed to induce uneducated persons to mention the facts of individual experience, and this manner he possessed to perfection. His acquaintance, at once scholarlike and colloquial, with two, perhaps more, of the Indian languages afforded him special facilities in India. But, apart from that, his insight into the character of alien races rendered him wonderfully apt in comprehending the conditions, physical and social, of all the many places with which he came in contact.

In his public life he evinced several qualities which immediately made him a leader of men, and endowed him with genius for directing affairs. In the first place, he was extraordinarily sympathetic; he instinctively entered into the thoughts, feelings,

and aspirations of others. Himself fired with a noble ambition, he sympathised instantly with those who were ambitious to do anything worth doing well. All men of originality and enterprise, all projectors of novel undertakings, all designers of good works, all explorers of unknown places, found in him a cordial coadjutor. In a progressive empire like the British few qualities are more valuable than this, and he possessed it in a remarkable degree. Then he had a glowing enthusiasm of disposition, together with refinement of intellect and elevation of thought. His enthusiasm did not blaze like a bonfire blown about by the gusts of night. It shone like a serene pure ray of white light. To use an Oriental metaphor, he had a high-caste mind. He was a cardinal instance for those who maintain the heredity of genius, and who believe that purity of descent causes the transmission of eminent gifts or talents from generation to generation. So again, his untiring energy of mind and body was tempered by the calmer suggestions of reason and consideration, for he was eminently a thinking, even a pondering, man. He must have been in some degree excitable, but his self-discipline would have suppressed even the least appearance of excitement. During moments of public danger he was swift in action, though staid in demeanour, his habitual cheerfulness being unabated. When in critical emergency, he was in

his native element. He was neither tardy nor hasty in making up his mind on difficult questions, being always sufficiently deliberate. But he had uncommon resolution in maintaining his convictions when once they were formed. Herein he invariably showed entire self-reliance, never doubting that he had grasped the truth, and that it must ultimately prevail. Consequently, he was fearless of consequences to himself, being thankful for good report if it were vouchsafed, but quite prepared for evil report should it come. He never shrank from facing responsibility, and never staggered under its weight. He was an admirable advocate for the cause espoused, both in speaking and writing. He had unswerving faith in the prevalence of reason and argument, being a really great master in written controversy. Those who differed from him must admit that no opponent could be more difficult to overcome with the pen than he was. His manner and delivery were too gentle for what is generally termed oratory or eloquence; but, though not an orator, he was very persuasive before mixed audiences. As a writer he had a capital style for many kinds of authorship. In conversation he was convincing in respect to general conclusions, and rich in imaginative illustration. By his every action or proceeding or policy, by his every word spoken or written, he was manifestly struggling towards the light, and aiming at things great and

noble. Even those who sometimes doubted the practicability or expediency of his aims could not deny their elevated character and their beneficent tendency. All his thoughts were dominated by a sense of what he believed to be his duty, according to his lights. When that goal had been perceived by him clearly, he moved towards it straight as one running to win a race.

With such a disposition he had a deep-rooted faith in the mission of England to sway, to enlighten, to improve, to civilise alien races in Asia, Africa, and Australasia.

“*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,*”

was his innermost idea, no doubt. But he desired empire for the sake of abstract good, and not for selfish aggrandisement. Necessarily he gathered round him troops of friends among his own countrymen, and among Europeans of several nationalities, whether in Sindh, in Bengal, in Bombay, in South Africa, or in the United Kingdom. Few statesmen have ever commanded the friendly devotion of a larger number of persons than he did. His personal friends were to be found among his brother civilians, among military officers, among merchants and non-officials, among colonists, and among many classes of the British people. The sorrowing crowd in St. Paul's Cathedral at his funeral attested the general regard and affection.

The Cape Parliament suspended its sitting on receiving the telegraphic announcement of his death; and the Government of that colony directed their agent-general to place a wreath upon his bier. In that section of the British community which exerts itself for the support and extension of religious missions in foreign regions his memory will long be cherished.

Equally capable and effective was he in influencing for good the native tribes and races under his rule or authority. He gave them the most favourable impression of the British character and of practical Christianity. He made them believe in their own capability of improvement. He lifted them as it were out of Oriental prejudice and bigotry, tenderly leading them into better spheres of thought and morality. Even with the mass of those who could hardly appreciate these higher ideas, he was popular and respected, being to them an ever-gracious presence.

With every one of whatsoever race or tongue he had the unfailing charm of a mild, modest, and refined bearing. His conversation and manner inspired every one with an interest in his fame and achievements.

Regarding some of the controversial passages of the last years in his public life, the sobering effect of time has yet to be felt, and the verdict of impartial history remains to be pronounced.

That he was faultless or free from error will never be asserted by discriminating friends. He himself would have been the very last man to make such an assertion, or even to dream such a vision. For he was from first to last a humble-minded Christian. So powerful an individuality, so marked an idiosyncrasy as his, must necessarily have had those co-ordinate defects which in human nature are almost invariably allied with great virtues and merits. We may apply to him the words which a contemporary applied to a British hero—

“He was true English;
His virtues and his failings English all.”

Lastly, we may associate with his memory the words of a well-known author respecting the promise that “finally in death itself their sleep should be sweet upon whose tomb it could be written—*Obdormivit in Christo.*”

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIAN VERNACULAR EDUCATION FOR INDIA.*

Educational effect of British administration in the East—Old Oriental literature—New Vernacular literature under British rule—Necessarily secular in the main—Material and moral efforts of the British Government—Diffusion of religious truth left to missionary agencies—Success of the missions—Wide and varied field still open for Christianizing work—Necessity of creating a religious literature in the Vernacular—This work too great to be undertaken by missionaries already occupied in the cure of souls—Operations of the Christian Vernacular Education Society in providing religious literature—Training colleges and model schools—Zenana Missions—Scope and character of the religious literature—Interesting scenes of India.

I REJOICE that it should have devolved upon me to plead in Hampstead the cause of Vernacular Education for India, for although—as our excellent host† has reminded us this evening—I am

* Speech delivered at Hampstead to the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, May, 1884.

† Mr. Basil Wood Smith, of Branch Hill Lodge, Hampstead.

a sojourner in the rising borough of Hampstead, yet I am well aware of the historical, classical, and poetical associations with which this neighbourhood is surrounded, and I am proud to observe that in these days it is becoming the abode of general art culture. We may hope it is becoming even more and more a religious centre, from which the light of truth may radiate over regions which have fallen under the sceptre of the British Queen.

I propose this evening to remind you of what Vernacular Education in India is; what is the work of the Vernacular Society; why it is wanted; and why you ought to support it.

Now, before I press upon you your duty as individuals and as members of the body politic, I would remind you of what has to be done by the Government in India. That Government is doing, and has done, its very utmost, not only for the mental and physical well-being of the people, but also for their moral and intellectual advancement. Having served under that Government, having been a member of it, having directed local governments in different parts of that wide empire, I can assure you that in rectitude of purpose, in purity of motive, the Government of India cannot be surpassed. Indeed, its conduct has elevated my notions and ideas of human duty, and strengthened my conviction that after all there is such a thing as disinterested goodness in this life. Besides promoting the material

prosperity of the people, the Government makes all its arrangements there so that they may produce, in the highest and broadest sense, an educational effect. Besides the indirect consequences of equitably-framed laws, wisely and justly administered, and of an administration which handles with a civilised touch all the relations of social existence, the Government has, by charitable and benevolent institutions of every description, endeavoured to set before the people the practical effects of that Christianity which it is, by its political obligations, prevented from preaching directly. The Government can indirectly enforce all the doctrines of that religion by obeying its precepts and doing what is therein commanded. But more particularly the Government enforces these maxims by means of education. Though I am far from saying there are as many millions of scholars at school as there ought to be, nevertheless there are already some millions, and the number of these millions is growing in every generation; growing, I may say, by hundreds of thousands yearly. And the education afforded, whether superior, middle-class, or primary, is philosophic, scientific, and ethical. It is everything but religious.

But when you give to all a secular education of this kind you require a literature. Now the Government of India has to a great extent accomplished the amazing task of creating a vernacular literature

for the Indian Empire. Consider that task, when you remember there are not less than twenty vernacular languages in India, and when we took that country there were but few books of indigenous origin in any one of them. When you recollect that the ancient literature of India is amongst the wonders of learning, you may be astonished at the fact I have mentioned. They say there are but six great epic poems in human history, of which India can claim one-half. The sayings of the sages, and the passages of the ancient Indian poetry, are so grand and so noble, that they have been collected together several times by European scholars as monuments of Indian wisdom. Notwithstanding all this, owing to wars and revolutions, the once magnificent literature has failed for many centuries. The copious fountain of wisdom and learning has long been dried up. Though in the middle ages some poems were written, some histories composed, yet half a century ago, when we assumed charge of the country, we found no recent literature of any practical or useful character. We have had, then, to undertake the task of reconstructing—I may say constructing the literature anew. I venture to add that in after-ages this will be counted not amongst the least of the achievements of our countrymen in India. Although not adequately appreciated at home in England, it is understood by the scholars of France and Germany, and the collections of cur-

rent Indian literature are far more numerous in France and Germany than in England. It has been said that we may some day lose our Eastern empire. Be that as it may, a memorial will remain in the vernacular literature with which we have enriched the country, and consequently, by that literature, the minds of the people.

As conquerors we might, indeed, have imposed our English language on the people by making it the language of the courts of justice and the public offices. But we have never done this. In so doing we should have only followed the example of some Asiatic dynasties that preceded us. Though we encourage English learning, and teach our language with all its literature and science to many thousands of natives who are willing to learn it, still we encourage the vernacular, at the same time, for the mass of the people, and so we popularize our administration. Our learned men set the example by distinguishing themselves in Oriental scholarship.

Now all this is the work of the Government. But are we as a nation to stop there? Surely not. It is well that we should govern the country in a wise and beneficent manner; that the valour of our soldiers, and the skill of our diplomatists should win province after province for that wide empire; that we should construct railways, open up canals, which are the wonders of engineering science, and

are even among the wonders of the world, being unequalled anywhere else; that we should people the plains and deltas with an abounding population; that the highways should be crowded with traffic, and rivers of inland navigation be covered with boats; that we should have first-rate military and naval defence, a well-organized police, and courts of justice; in fact, all the paraphernalia of nineteenth-century civilization. But you as Christians surely know we should seek for something higher and better than all these things. We have yet to open before this teeming population the Book of eternal bliss, to lead these people on to the banks of the river which flows with the water of everlasting life, to direct their gaze heavenwards, so that they may see that illimitable vista which leads up to that light which surrounds the throne of Almighty God. Such should be the object of England as a nation. And that object cannot be attained by the Government, but must be left to private enterprise. Now "private enterprise" has a pleasant sound to English ears as typifying our energetic genius, but it is of noble significance when it is used regarding private effort in the most sacred of causes. It is left, then, by the Government to the efforts of individual Englishmen, scattered over the towns and villages of our native land, to promote Christian missions, to do a work that cannot be done by any other means.

And I am bound to say that, notwithstanding all shortcomings, nevertheless a large measure of success has been vouchsafed to Christian missions in India. Of course you will hear disparagement. The cause of Christian missions would indeed be weak if it could not bear the impact of the very light disparagement you occasionally find. But all these taunts and sneers are just like the froth of the waves which dash against the rock of fact. It is a fact that missions have wrought a success, which can be proved by statistics that reflect honour on the English name. The natives who have embraced Christianity are now to be counted by hundreds of thousands. The native children that are undergoing Christian instruction in missionary schools are also to be numbered by hundreds of thousands. And there is steady increase, also by hundreds of thousands, in succeeding decades, so that the hundreds of thousands will ere long become millions, until at last the number will grow so heavily on our hands that we shall hardly be able to cope with it. So far from any fear that you will not have sufficient numbers to work upon, it is quite the contrary. The number will become so large that you may not be able to manage it.

The 450 to 500 European ordained missionaries, whom you are able to send forth and sustain in the Lord's vineyard of India, will not suffice for the cure of so great a multitude of souls. You must

rely more and more upon a native ministry and pastorate. Happily this is being arranged. A body of native clergy has been formed. Missionary Bishops have been consecrated for the examining and ordaining of qualified natives. And young natives possessing the requisite qualifications are coming forward. The aboriginal tribes are fast embracing Christianity in the hilly districts. In the cities of the plain you have high-caste natives, men of intellectual sagacity and moral excellence, who, despite all social disadvantages, cling to the Christian faith they have embraced through sincere conviction. You also have a large body of men who are real pagans, worshipping nothing but the spirit of the air, or the Genius which pervades Nature. You have these men, whose hearts present a clean tablet, unsullied by prejudice, upon which you may, if you will, write the doctrines of everlasting truth. There is not only the field already occupied, but there is a still greater field awaiting occupation. The conduct of these native Christians—dwelling in the villages, peasant proprietors or farm-labourers, occupying broad tracts of country—is such as befits a profession of the Christian religion. They are well-behaved, law-abiding, orderly, and on the whole godly people, worthy of the faith which they have embraced. They bring their children for baptism, for schooling, for confirmation. They attend with fair regularity the

ordinances and services of the Church. They subscribe for the building of rustic chapels. They give out of their scanty substance to the maintenance of a native ministry. Their Christianity is becoming hereditary, and is transmitted from one generation to another.

Besides this you have another field in the case of those natives who, under the influence of Western civilization, abandon the absurdities of Hinduism, the monstrosities of Buddhism, and the narrow bigotry of Muhammadanism. They retain only the gems extracted from these creeds. These men, called Brahmos, may embrace Christianity if it be proffered to them in a way which brings its truth home to their minds. They are not Atheists, but Theists. They believe in God, in immortality, in abstract principles of right and wrong. If we show that we believe our own religion, we shall work conviction on their minds also. So the field for Christianity is abundant, productive, and promising.

But then again arises the difficulty of creating a religious literature. I have shown you how the Government have had to create a secular literature. It is necessary that we too should create a vernacular literature, which shall be worthy of Christianity. You may say that the missionary societies may do this—"Why should we undertake it?" I fully admit that in some respects the missionary societies have done this. They were the pioneers

in this important work. Our missionaries were amongst the first to translate the Bible into Asiatic tongues, to write dictionaries, to describe elaborately the religions and manners and customs of the East. That was in the early days, when the missionaries were feeling their way. But by degrees the work of conversion grew upon them, and is still growing. Imagine how much work a few hundred missionaries must have in the cure of so many souls as I have been mentioning. Not only have they to conduct elaborate arguments with the educated, and to preach in the highways and by-ways, but they have tens of thousands of congregations to look after, a native ministry and a native diaconate to supervise, children to baptize, adults to marry. They have to carry Christian succour to the homes of the sick and the illiterate. In fact they have all the hardest duties that devolve upon our ministers at home. How is it possible, then, that they should be able to create a Christian vernacular literature in twenty languages? Although missionaries are, as a body, self-sacrificing men,—although they deserve none of the blame or depreciation sometimes imparted,—although they contain as many able men in their ranks as any body of public officers I ever saw,—although they number in their ranks many men of historical fame and illustrious celebrity,—although they are all this, they cannot do more work than can be done in

twenty-four hours of the day. And it is impossible for them to meet the growing demands for Christian vernacular literature.

I do not think the missionary societies can undertake the work which has fallen to this Vernacular Education Society, on behalf of which we are assembled this evening. These missionary societies have already more than enough to do. The missionaries were, at the time I left India, really overworked. It was simply impossible for them to do properly the duties of the enormous cure of souls which was springing up around them. If they have all the work of an overworked parish minister, how can they have time to write school-books and books of vernacular literature? Therefore there is an unbroken field for the Vernacular Society. In fact, unless the work is taken up by that Society, it cannot be performed at all.

This brings me to the main point of my address, namely, the necessity which lies on a Christian community to support the Society for religious Vernacular Education in India. Here is the scope and here is the work of the Society, and these are the reasons why the Society is wanted. And certainly the society has fulfilled its mission in a noble manner. Founded in the year of the Indian Mutiny (1857), it has prepared its books by tens of thousands—I might almost say by hundreds of thousands—it has issued copies of its books positively in millions, within this

one generation which has passed since the Indian Mutiny. Well, then, the work I say has been already well done and nobly conducted. If you support it, then it will continue to be carried on with the utmost efficiency.

I should point out that, besides this, the Society sustains three or four training colleges for native masters, who shall teach in the vernacular, and also a certain number of model village schools, more or less in connection with these training schools. This is an essential part of the Society's work. In regard to secular education, the Government has had to maintain a number of normal schools. In the same way the missionary societies have training colleges for young natives, who first become deacons, and then, after a time, are ordained by the missionary bishops. The missionary societies also maintain schools for training schoolmasters to teach in their own schools. In addition to these, our Vernacular Society also trains schoolmasters, and has some model schools in connection with these institutions.

Amidst other things I may remind you, as there are so many ladies present, that among the many departments of the work of the Society is that which relates to female education. Now, although the Government and the Christian public together have made a wide and deep impression on the education of boys, yet their influence has not been so eminently

marked, so uniquely characterized in that sense, in respect to female education. As regards this department of education, before we came to India there was but little. Now, however, thank God, there is a great deal. An extraordinary advance in female education is probably the next great achievement looming before us in the near future. Meanwhile you can imagine how difficult it is to introduce even a secular literature into the women's apartments. How much more difficult must it have been to get religious literature to find its way there! But now-a-days English ladies of the highest mental training, and of the utmost moral resolution, have vowed that they would extend to their Oriental sisters those blessings under which they have been brought up themselves. For that purpose they have not only mastered languages, but have learnt medical science, so that, while bringing moral and mental good to their Oriental sisters, they might at the same time cure some of the ailments under which many of these poor ladies languish or perish from want of treatment, or through erroneous treatment. By means of this vernacular literature the light of truth has been carried at last into the recesses of Oriental harems. Therefore I confidently commend to you the Zenana Missions generally, and the Zenana Medical Mission particularly.

Next you will be asking, "What should be the

scope of this vernacular literature?" Now remember it is wanted for three or four great purposes; first, to supply text-books for the schools, that is, text-books, in the first instance, for the religious or missionary schools; secondly, text-books for the secular schools, under the Government. So long as the books are religious practically, that is, setting forth the plain duties of Christianity, there can be no objection to their being taken by all those non-Christian natives who are willing to read them. Then they are wanted for all the adults who have imbibed western education. And, lastly, they are needed to counteract the atheistic and infidel tendencies which I am grieved and ashamed to say are reaching India from Europe itself. It is so far fortunate that these shocking atheistic works, which are infecting India like so much poison, are in the English language, which is not understood by the majority of the people. The head and front of education in India, no doubt, is English, but the mass and body is vernacular. Therefore this mischief, spread from Europe—and so far detracting from the countless benefits which India receives from England—will only at first affect the upper class. But the men who have learnt it in English will be quick enough to diffuse it in the vernacular, throughout the length and breadth of their country. Therefore your vernacular religious literature is necessary to check

the spread of atheistic tendencies, which we cannot prevent from extending to the East.

Then I come to the question, "What should be the character of our religious books in the vernacular?" Certainly they should not be abstruse, dogmatic, nor in any sense sectarian. They should embrace the codes of that religion professed by all denominations of Christians alike. There should be a vigour about them, and a practical truth which will come home to the hearts of men of all nationalities. There should be a freshness in them like the freshness of that spring which at this moment is blooming in Palestine itself—like the rose of Sharon, blossoming in the East—like the dew of Hermon—like the balm of Gilead—like that ointment which flowed from the head of Aaron down to the skirts of his garments, and which shall mitigate the bigotry of caste or unite in bonds of charity the professors of rival faiths.

Lastly, imagine the interesting, the classic scenes to which these vernacular books will extend. They will be read in the valleys of the Himalayas, in sight of the loftiest snow-clad peaks on the surface of the earth; on the banks of the Indus, as seen by Alexander the Great, and on the margin of the Ganges, which was considered by ancient poets as the limit of the Roman Empire. They will be read sometimes in rock-hewn cave-temples, in the shadow of the Hindu fane, on the doorsteps of

the Muhammadan mosque; sometimes in crowded marts, with all the indescribable movements of Oriental crowds; in the village square; in the courtyard, lightly shaded by the feathery palm; in the deeper shade of the banyan-tree, under whose spreading branches a whole regiment may encamp.

What I have told you this evening is the result of my own personal observation, not what I have heard or read. I have seen the native churches, the native congregations, the individual communicants, the native schools. I have heard the children examined in their school-work, and listened to them singing their hymns on Sundays. All I can say is—and it shall be my last word this evening—that would to God I could impress these things on your mind, as they are indelibly printed on my own.

I have now answered briefly the several questions which I propounded to you at the outset regarding the needs, the services, the operations of the Vernacular Education Society for India. When you remember the work which the Government has done, the great scope which must still be left to individual efforts, the considerable success which has gone before you, I am sure your hearts will be moved to take part in the blessed work.

I have explained to you what vernacular education in India is; what is the work of the Vernacular Society; why it is wanted; and why you ought to support it. I am sure you, as Christian people,

remember the Divine command to the earliest Christians, and to all future generations of Christians, that we should do our utmost to spread the Christian religion to the uttermost ends of the earth. Certainly that obligation, which is incumbent on all nations professing Christianity, rests to a unique degree on the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, which has political charge of one-sixth of the human race, or 260 millions consisting of non-Christians.* By promoting this holy work you will be shedding fresh lustre on the British nation and adding prestige to our name. Above all, you will be doing what you know to be your duty, and you will be fulfilling the behests of Almighty God.

* In February 1885, in an address to the Theological College at Salisbury, I presented the following resumé of current income obtained in the United Kingdom for Protestant missions to the heathen, 1,200,000*l.* say 1½ million annually. Compared with the above there are 200,000*l.* in the Continent of Europe, and 700,000*l.* in the United States; the latter sum being a proof of American zeal for religion. Out of the 1,200,000*l.* one half, 600,000*l.* would be raised by Church of England, and the remainder in the Presbyterian and Nonconformists communities. Among the latter the following sums may be noted (annual subscriptions)—Scotch Presbyterian 176,000*l.*; Wesleyan 132,000*l.*; London Missionary Society 74,000*l.*; the Baptists 55,000*l.*

CHAPTER X.

THE POLITICS OF BURMAH.

Titles of the Burmese King—Annexation of Upper Burmah or Ava to the British Empire—Debate in the House of Commons—Summary of the whole case regarding Burmah—Extracts from the *Blue Book*—Diplomatic relations with Ava—The British Residency at Mandalay—Withdrawal of the Resident—Abortive treaty—Massacres at Mandalay—Troubles in Upper Burmah—Burmese Embassy to Paris—Real object of the negotiations—Commercial treaty between Burmah and France—French Consul at Mandalay—Negotiations of Burmah with Italy and Germany—Critical transactions in Upper Burmah—Menace to British interests—The Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation—Its treatment by the Burmese Government—Affairs leading towards war—British ultimatum—Burmese declaration of war—British proclamation—Military operations—King of Ava, Theebaw, surrenders—His territories annexed to the British Empire—Consequences of annexation—Future railways.

“THE Burmese Sovereign of the Rising Sun, who rules over the country of Thunaparanta and the country of Tambadeepa, with all the other great dominions and countries, and all the umbrella-

bearing chiefs of the East, whose glory is exceeding great and excellent, the master of the king elephant, Saddan, the lord of many white elephants, the lord of life, the eminently just ruler, writes—O, excellent English Viceroy, who rulest over the many great countries and nations of India!”

“Writes—

“At a time when, in accordance with the firm and established grand royal friendship which has continuously existed between those two great dominions and countries, the Burmese and English Empires;”—and so on.

Such were the titles, as set forth by himself, of the Burmese sovereign, who, having declared war against the British on 7th November, 1885, surrendered to the British General on 2nd December, at his capital, Mandalay, was conveyed in British vessels down his own river, and thence across the sea to India, where he now lives, a State prisoner, with his family. By a proclamation of the 1st January, 1886, it was notified, by command of the Queen-Empress of India, that his territories had become part of Her Majesty’s dominions.

When Parliament was opened, on 21st January, 1886, the annexation was thus mentioned in the speech from the throne—

“Greatly to my regret, I was compelled, in the month of November, to declare war against Theebaw, the King of Ava. Acts of hostility on his

part against my subjects and the interests of my empire had, since his accession, been deliberate and continuous. These had necessitated the withdrawal of my representative from his court; and my demands for redress were systematically evaded and disregarded. An attempt to confiscate the property of my subjects trading under agreement in his dominions, and a refusal to settle the dispute by arbitration, convinced me that the protection of British life and property, and the cessation of dangerous anarchy in Upper Burmah, could only be effected by force of arms."

The subject was, of course, noticed in the speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address in the House of Commons, in reply to the speech from the throne.

I mention these several points in explanation of the following speech of mine during the debate on the Address, in answer to the Royal Speech, as reproduced from Hansard's Report :—

"Mr. Speaker, there is one subject in respect to which I can contribute something towards this debate. It is a subject which has received some prominence in the Queen's Speech, and has been repeatedly mentioned by hon. Members this evening. It is the annexation of Burmah. I have listened with the utmost respect to all that fell this evening from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone). I shall not presume

to follow him into the abstract principles which he adduced, nor attempt to argue how far a civil wrong may constitute a *casus belli*, and whether the desire of mercantile expansion would justify a certain degree of aggressiveness. I shall rather try to apply specifically those principles to practical politics, and to present the actual case, as it occurred, for the judgment of this House. I was Lord Canning's Special Commissioner in 1860 for the formation and constitution of the province now known as British Burmah, and for that purpose I travelled over the country.* I have subsequently governed Bengal provinces adjacent to Burmah. Therefore I have personal knowledge of the subject upon which I am about to address the House briefly. Looking over the twenty-five years—a quarter of a century has elapsed since the establishment of British Burmah in 1860—and considering all that has happened in that space, I know, as all India knows, as everyone experienced in the East knows also, that the recent annexation of the Kingdom of Ava, or

* In that work I was associated with Colonel Bruce, who died a few years subsequently (1866) and Colonel (afterwards Sir Arthur) Phayre, who was then Commissioner of Pegu. Phayre died last December (1885), more full of honours than of years. No British officer has ever equalled him in knowledge of the Burmese, and his untimely death at this juncture is specially to be lamented.

Burmah Proper, to the British dominions was just, timely, and expedient.

“The Burmese King of Ava was bound to us by peculiar bonds of political obligation. His relations with us were of an intimate character, unlike any relations which he had, or possibly could have, with any other Power. He was not exactly under our protectorate; but he was, since the several wars which his predecessors had with us, peculiarly situated, both as regards the alliance he could give us, or the support which we could afford to him. In that special situation, he, and some of his predecessors too, pursued a course of consistent hostility; at first, petty hostility indeed, but, by degrees, assuming graver and graver proportions, till it was about to burst out into a flame, when the British Government was obliged to extinguish it forcibly. The Resident at his Court, the accredited agent of the British Government, was so slighted that he had to be withdrawn. British subjects were maltreated, British steamers were detained by violence in Burmese rivers, hill-tribes under British control were claimed as Burmese subjects, brigandage was suffered to break out in troublesome vicinity to British territory. Shocking massacres of portions of the king’s own family were perpetrated by his own orders. The humane world began to say that these horrors were preventible, and to ask how

long England would stand by and see such atrocities committed without any attempt at prevention.

“ Even these events, taken by themselves, might not have necessitated armed intervention. But they were accompanied by a long series of intrigues with foreign powers in Europe, conducted under cover of commercial conventions. As loyal and patriotic Englishmen, we may hesitate to allude to these transactions with much of particularity. There is always a need for caution and reserve in touching on relations of some delicacy with foreign powers. But we are informed that a Blue Book, containing a mass of official correspondence relating to Burmah, will be shortly presented to this House. How far those papers will explain or illustrate these transactions we cannot yet say, till we shall have studied the Blue Book. But there is sure to be shown quite enough to indicate to those who can read between the lines that, for several years, the Burmese sovereign, or the Court of Ava, had been endeavouring to set up indirectly some European ally within Burmah Proper. This ally was to be used as a fulcrum against the long-established British influence in that kingdom, or the Upper Valley of the Irawaddy, and as a lever ultimately for expelling the British from British Burmah, or the Lower Valley of the Irawaddy. Perhaps these sinister endeavours may have in some degree been thwarted by the action—loyal to us—of the European Powers

thus appealed to. Partly, also, English diplomatic pressure in Europe may have been of some avail. Still, the Burmese King persisted in introducing foreign European agency on a large scale into his dominions, evidently with the view of enlisting the European Governments, of which those agents were the subjects, on the Burmese side as against the British.

“These measures were fast maturing into accomplished facts had it not been for the prompt intervention by force of the British Government. During last autumn the matter had become so urgent that there was hardly a day to be lost. In Burmah, too—as we have but too often found elsewhere—the season for military operations is very short. This much, I am confident, will be perceived by this House as soon as the Blue Book shall be read. As a climax, there was the affair of the Bombay and Burmah Trading Company. No doubt that was a grave civil wrong. Though it was no ordinary case, though its magnitude was wide, extending over a large area of country, affecting the staple of Burmese production—teak timber—though it was closely connected with the Burmese Sovereign himself—still it alone might not have rendered necessary a recourse to arms. It was the connection which this case had with our political relations that brought about the necessity of war. The case, indeed, was as a link in a long-drawn

chain of injury and insult to the British nation, or as a spark igniting a mass that had been rendered combustible by provocation. Military operations, then, were the only means of settling affairs, which, remaining unsettled, would have involved us in inextricable complications with Foreign Powers.

“Sir, besides the justice and reasonableness of our action, there is the expediency. Such expediency relates to the interests of the Burmese population. That portion of this population which inhabits British Burmah, or the Lower Irawaddy, is benefited by the freedom and security of the trade with the Upper Irawaddy, on which national interests depend, and which was constantly interrupted by anarchy at Ava. That portion which inhabits the Upper Irawaddy, or Burmah Proper, is benefited by the substitution of British administration for the cruel and inefficient rule of the Burmese king. The hon. Member for North-West Manchester (Mr. Houldsworth), who this evening seconded the Address in reply to the Queen’s Speech, showed, by statistics, the amazing improvement wrought in British Burmah within the last twenty years.* By that summary this House can

* Mr. Houldsworth’s words were:—

“There was no province which was more prosperous than British Burmah had become during the last thirty years. The richest part of it was annexed in 1852, and since then the population had increased fourfold, or from one million to four

measure the progress which will take place in Burmah Proper, recently annexed. Under Providence, the annexation will be fraught with blessing to a Burmese population already considerable, and capable, under our just rule, of multiplying, to replenish a fertile area now half-waste through misrule. These advantages will be secured to them at a slight sacrifice to us. A comparatively small force will suffice for garrisoning the country. Such a force would cause no perceptible drain on the military resources of India. We shall, indeed, have one more wild and mountainous frontier in our Eastern Empire. But who that has witnessed the triumphs of British management on the Trans-Indus borders, in the Himalayan States, in Assam, on the Lushai Hills, can doubt that we shall easily settle the new border between Burmah and China? That which has been so well done in the upper regions of the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahma-

millions of souls, principally by immigration from independent Burmah which had just been annexed. The exports had enormously increased, while the revenue, which in 1854 was £250,000, in 1884 nearly reached £3,000,000; and the total surplus paid into the Indian treasury in eight years from British Burmah, after paying all the expenses of administration, was no less than £6,000,000. He believed that similar results would be realised in the territory which had just been annexed to our Empire, while the capabilities for trade in the Shan States, Siam, and China, were simply enormous."

putra, we may now do in the upper regions of the Irawaddy.

“This frontier, too, will touch China, becoming the first point of contact between the British-Indian Empire and China Proper. With the capacity and potentiality of China, who shall venture to estimate the vastness of the commercial result that may arise hereafter from such a contact? There will also be Chinese immigration into Upper Burmah; and we know what that will be from our experience of what the immigration has been and is in Lower Burmah. The emigration of the Chinese from China towards the United States has been checked—that towards Australia is likely to be checked also. It will now have an unchecked flow into Burmah; and there it will have free play for development. All this will happen as among the consequences of a just and necessary war, rapidly, easily, and cheaply conducted. While entirely deprecating aggressiveness for the sake of any advantage, however precious, yet if the justice and necessity be indisputable, as they are in this case, I am not ashamed to express my joy at finding that in these days of profitless trade something considerable has occurred in Burmah that may help to lift our commerce out of the slough of depression.

“Sir, before I sit down I will allude to one more passage in the Gracious Speech from the Throne.

I rejoice to see that the noble Lord, the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) proposes an inquiry by this House as to the results of the Indian administration since the Crown assumed the government of India, nearly thirty years ago. This inquiry implies no disparagement whatever to the noble progress which has been attained in India during that time. But it does imply that we may still direct this progress into higher walks of social or political advancement, and towards movements of a character affecting the self-education of the Indian people in the best and loftiest sense. It is true, on the one hand, that, as responsible for the defence of the country, we must keep in our own hands the supreme direction of affairs. In that we can admit of no participation; and, therefore, we must have Europeans in those posts which demand British-born capacity. But short of this, on the other hand, we should try to promote Natives more and more in the public service, always without prejudice to the rights of the European officers actually in that service. We should improve the salary, furlough, and pension rules for Native officials. We should raise the natives of India more and more to positions in which they will feel responsible for evincing energy, self-reliance, and promptitude. This is, indeed, that practical education which lasts through life. But, further, we should impart national education to them as

forming a nation. Such education consists in teaching them the art of self-government in local affairs, in inducing them to take a lively interest in the management of their provincial concerns, in causing them to perform those many honorary duties which are performed by municipal magnates in our British towns at home, and by the country gentlemen in our counties—in cautiously introducing among them the municipal franchise primarily, and afterwards that elective or electoral system which is the life of our body politic. In guiding aright the legitimate aspirations which they now have, and in inspiring them with an ambition yet nobler than any which they now possess, we shall imbue them with a real loyalty, of which we had an earnest the other day, when hostilities with Russia were threatened; and we shall render them, as a mighty mass, a source of strength to the British Empire at large.”

This speech will, I believe, be found to give a correct summary of the case for the British-Indian Government respecting the annexation of Burmah. I proceed to extract passages culled from the mass of papers in the Blue Book, and facts from the official correspondence, in illustration of the salient points in this grave case.

The empire of Alompra,* the greatest of Burmese sovereigns, and of his successors, comprised territories which may be grouped into two main divisions. The first division consisted of the three littoral tracts on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, namely, Arracan, Tenasserim, and Pegu, the last-named province being the delta of the Irawaddy, with its capital at Rangoon. The second division consisted of the kingdom of Ava, which included the Shan States and the upper basin of the Irawaddy, extending up to the Chinese province of Yunnan in the south-west corner of China, the capital of the kingdom of Ava being Mandalay. It were needless to recount the events of the wars whereby the Burmese lost the territories of the first of these two divisions, which were incorporated in 1861 into the province since known as British Burmah. Consequently the territories in the second division only remained to the Burmese, and have been known under the name of Ava or Burmah Proper. The Burmese kingdom was thus cut off entirely from the sea by intervening British territory, and existed only as an inland power. As ocean-borne commerce was vital to its social and

* His name was really Alaungh Pra. He died in 1760, at the early age of forty-six, while retreating from an unsuccessful invasion of Siam; as a dying warrior he was carried on a litter from the Meinam towards the Salwin. (Phayre's *History of Burmah*, p. 170).

economic existence, the kingdom became commercially as well as politically dependent on the British Government. There was every desire on the part of the British to recognise the internal independence or autonomy of Burmah Proper, and to cause its prosperity to grow almost *pari passu* with that of British Burmah. If the Burmese king had understood the things that related to his political welfare, he might have been on the throne now, but he would not.

His diplomatic relations with the British Government will be best explained by the following extract from a letter of the Government of India (at the head of which was then Lord Lytton) to Lord Cranbrook, Secretary of State for India, in March, 1879 :

“The Yandaboo treaty of 1825 ratified the terms on which peace was concluded between the two States after the war of 1825, and it contains, among other matters, the important stipulation that an accredited minister with a guard and suitable residence, shall be placed by each Government at the Court of the other * * * * The regular diplomatic representation of the British Government at the Burmese Court was suspended in 1839, and not resumed until after a very long interval * * * * After the close of the second Burmese war a special mission was sent to Ava and was well received * * * In 1862 the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah

negotiated on behalf of the Government of India a commercial treaty with Upper Burmah, and left an agent of his own at Mandalay to see that the clauses relating to customs dues and free river navigation were observed * * * The working of this treaty was by no means successful * * * * * The royal monopolies continued to operate greatly in restraint of the development of trade. In 1867 another commercial treaty was concluded, which pledged the Mandalay Government for a term of years to the restriction of the king's monopolies. It declared that the treaty of 1862 remained in full force, while it also conferred upon the British Resident certain civil jurisdiction in Upper Burmese territory over cases concerning British subjects; and thenceforward a British Resident has continuously resided at the Upper Burmese capital. Under the terms of the same treaty a political agent, subordinate to the Resident, has been stationed at Bhamo." (Blue Book, p. 11.)

Nevertheless after 1867 the treaties were systematically broken or evaded in several particulars relating to the protection of British subjects, to the rights of traders, to the freedom of commerce, as will appear from pp. 3, 5, 15, 16, 41-2, 49 of the Blue Book.

The most important part of the commerce is carried by the steamers of the flotilla on the Irrawaddy plying between Rangoon and Mandalay.

These were repeatedly attacked within the limits of Burmah Proper, the crew and passengers maltreated, and the European officers insulted. (See Blue Book, pp. 4, 8, 15, 25, 49.)

Those who have lived in Burmese surroundings will appreciate the unfriendly significance of these affairs, which could not have happened had the Burmese Court been friendly.

Further, the Resident at Mandalay was treated in a manner which, if not overtly hostile, was indirectly unfriendly. Colonel Horace Browne, in July 1879, thus describes his position as Resident :

“The retention of a high official here as Resident has anything but a good effect on our prestige. It does not improve our position in the eyes of the people to allow them to see me, a well-known official in British Burmah, and considered of some importance by our own subjects, reduced to a mere cipher under the shadow of the Golden Foot, in absolute confinement as regards communication with other people (not a single respectable non-official being allowed to approach me)—living in a compound (enclosure) surrounded by Burman guards and spies, and unable to obtain any information of what is going on around me, except in a roundabout and unsatisfactory manner, and generally quite unable to obtain any redress for British subjects. * * *

The object now is apparently to isolate the Resident, as was done in King Tharawaddy's time, when

they shut him up on an island, so that he could communicate with no one" (p. 43).

At length the position became precarious, and there were many occasions for apprehending that some armed or murderous attack might be made on the Residency, which would render war inevitable. So, as the best chance of preserving peace, the Government of India, in the autumn of 1879, determined to withdraw the Resident (pp. 43-4, 45, 49, 54, 56, 58). Colonel Horace Browne remarks: "As regards the quietness of my departure, the Burmese Ministers certainly assisted me to the utmost of their power, for not a single one of them took the slightest notice of me after my approaching departure was made known to them" (p. 52).

To effect the peaceful withdrawal was a matter of some anxiety, and the political officer, Mr. St. Barbe, had to take manifold precautions. The people at Mandalay did not indeed molest the British party as they moved from the Residency to their steamer. But the Burmese ministers took no notice of them, and let them depart without the least ceremony, and without any mark of friendship whatever. Such demeanour in Oriental diplomacy is a well-known indication of covert hostility. The withdrawal was judiciously effected in October 1879.

At the first blush of the affair the Burmese at Mandalay were delighted to see the back of the British Resident, whose retirement had been ren-

dered necessary by their own misbehaviour. On second thoughts, however, when he had returned within the British Burmah borders, their heart failed them. So they sent a pompous embassy to the border, with the draft of a new treaty; elaborately drawn up. Their envoy was instructed to remonstrate in mild terms with the British authorities for withdrawing the Resident, and to carefully ignore the long-continued misconduct which had rendered that withdrawal necessary. The draft treaty, however, on examination was found to be inadmissible by the then Chief Commissioner, Mr. (now Sir Charles) Aitchison. Among other things, it contained three proposed provisions which could never be allowed, namely, the taxation of British vessels of a certain tonnage at exorbitant rates, the transit of arms and ammunition from abroad through British Burmah to Ava, the surrender of political offenders who had fled from Ava to British territory. This last-named provision was no doubt aimed at the Nyoungan Prince, a half-brother of the king, who was, in the opinion of many among the Burmese, the rightful heir, and altogether the fittest man for the royal headship. For fear of his life he had fled to India. He was allowed to live there as a private person, and was not permitted either to intrigue, or to compass any action, against the Burmese Government. To give up such a refugee to a barbarous

and cruel death (which infallibly would have been his fate) was impossible. The transit of arms meant the importation of warlike material from France especially, as was apparent from the diplomatic representations which the Burmese King made shortly afterwards at Paris. So these overtures on the part of the Burmese were rejected by the Government of India in 1880 (p. 73-5). It was laid down that diplomatic intercourse could not be renewed unless the Court of Ava should offer further proposals, the basis of which must be the reception by the King of a British Resident as provided by treaty, the according of due honour to the British representative, and the provision of a fitting site for the Residency at Mandalay (p. 76). It was also stipulated, that, as a preliminary, the King should engage that cruel and unnecessary executions, such as those which had occurred after his accession, should never recur (p. 76).

In 1882 some hope of re-establishing relations arose when the King deputed an envoy to India to negotiate with the Viceroy (Lord Ripon). But after much discussion had taken place, he suddenly withdrew the envoy. Then he sent another mission, with proposals so unsatisfactory that they had to be rejected (p. 264).

For some short time affairs moved, if not smoothly, yet without actual roughness, in Upper Burmah. No special grievances arose, and no dis-

turbance of relations occurred, until a new element of trouble was produced by the intrigues of the King in Europe, especially in France, to which I must presently advert (pp. 98 and 125).

Meanwhile, in reference to what has just been mentioned regarding executions, I must advert to a most melancholy episode in this history, namely, the holocaust of a whole section of the royal family at Mandalay.

Of the atrocities committed on his own family by King Theebaw shortly after his accession, some particulars may be taken from the Blue Book. Mr. Shaw, the Resident, thus writes on the 19th February, 1879, at Mandalay, reporting on the spot regarding events which had just occurred :—

“This morning brought full confirmation of the terrible news which it appears are no longer denied. From the various accounts, I gather that on Saturday night the removal of the prisoners to the jail (which had been cleared for them) commenced. Some were killed on that night, and the rest on the two succeeding nights. A large hole had been dug in the jail precincts. Into this their bodies were thrown. Touching tales are told of how the women and the children pleaded for their lives in vain. Their outcries were stifled by the hands of the executioners grasping their necks until they were strangled. Others were killed with bludgeons, which, in the hands of half-drunken men, often required to be

used repeatedly before the victims were put out of their pain. The executioners were some of the worst ruffians, released for the purpose from the jail which was now the scene of their cruelties. Of the Princes, the eldest, Thongzè, alone showed courage. He is said to have laughed, and said to his brothers, 'See, I told you we should have no release but death.' On Sunday night (16th) eight cart-loads of the bodies of Princes of the Blood are said to have been conveyed out of the city by the western (or funeral) gate, and thrown into the river, according to the custom. The other bodies were all thrown into the hole already dug in the jail. No conspiracy, or other provocation to such a deed, has been reported. The present ministers are said to have tried to dissuade the King, but in vain" (pp. 20, 21).

The number of the victims will never be exactly known; it has been stated as high as eighty, but it may have been somewhat less.

Yet another execution followed, of a young princess, which is thus reported by the Resident: "The King gave orders that she and her brother should be killed. The executioners proceeded to the jail, where they found the girl being tended by her mother, who was daily allowed to bring her food. The old woman shrieked terribly when she heard their mission, and was turned out of the premises, when she at once rushed off and warned her son.

The girl was murdered in the ordinary Burmese fashion. Her hands were bound between her knees; two cords were fastened round her neck, by means of which a man on either side forced back her head. While in this position, another man struck her across the neck with a heavy bamboo. The girl was young and strong, and they say she endured seven blows before she died. The Dowager Queen in vain interceded for her life, and wept bitterly when she heard her fate" (p. 55).

When the Resident conveyed the remonstrances of the Government of India in the most earnest, impressive, and energetic terms, the following is the reply of the Burmese Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"In regard to the *clearing and keeping by* matter (which is a Burmese expression for killing and imprisoning), Minister would remark that such action is taken in consideration of the past and the future only when there should exist a cause of disturbance. It is not desired to clear away and keep by those whom it is not feared would cause any disturbances to the country, but the wish towards them is that they may live happily and contentedly" (p. 23).

This is a confession with but the slenderest attempt at justification.

In a despatch addressed to Lord Cranbrook in March, 1879, the Government of India—Lord

Lytton and his colleagues in council—after explaining that the murdered princes and princesses were relatives of the Nyoungan Prince who had fled to British territory, proceed thus: “Considering that, at the time when these massacres took place, this prince had in compliance with the King’s request been removed by the British Government from the vicinity of the Burmese frontier, where his presence might possibly have prevented the slaughter of his kinsfolk, we are of opinion that these executions were intended to be a deliberate affront to the Government of India” (p. 18).

There was subsequently another massacre in the jail at Ava, which is thus described :

“The scene which then occurred at the jail baffles description; the poor wretches inside it would not come out, and the monsters who sought their lives set fire to the building and then murdered their victims one by one as they fled from the flames * * * * The King gave orders that the dead were not to be buried for two or three days, so that all the people might see what a terrible thing it was to incur his displeasure, and there were the mutilated bodies lying in ghastly and festering heaps * * * * Meanwhile the King and court have been holding high festival over the event to divert the people from thoughts of the true significance of the massacre. * * * * Poays (plays) are being held nightly. * * * * The King has

rewarded those who took part in the slaughter
* * * * the butcher receiving the richest reward ”
(p. 129).

From another account it is clear that this wholesale execution, due to an undefined political suspicion, was done with the immediate sanction of the King himself (p. 128).

Commenting on these troubles the Chief Commissioner observes that by indirectly befriending the King as the head of a neighbouring state, politically dependent on us, we might be deemed to have some responsibility in reference to these cruelties. He writes, October 1884:—

“ Nearly half the realm, or the greater part of the Shan States, is in rebellion. * * * * Claimants to the Ava throne are in British keeping in India, and are prevented from making a dash for Mandalay. It therefore seems that King Theebaw is in undisturbed possession of the throne of Ava, because the British Government actively interposes to prevent his rivals raising an insurrection or fomenting a revolution in Upper Burmah ” (p. 126).

Thus it will be seen that the Government of India pushed its forbearance with the King to the extreme limit; and showed him far more kindness than he really merited. But so far from recognising such friendliness he requited it with the most dangerous hostility, as will presently be seen.

Before going to the root of that matter, however, I will mention the episode of the Manipur boundary. Manipur is a protected Indian state conterminous to Burmah. A border having been previously fixed, the British Government caused boundary pillars to be set up in 1884. The King of Ava not only refused to co-operate, but, in the course of the affair, sent his Minister with a letter to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, in which the following sentences appear: "Minister requests that the Chief Commissioner will cause the British Government to order the immediate removal of the stockade, and sheds, and stone heaps, which the Kathè people have set up * * *. If, in spite of the request precisely, distinctly, and definitely preferred by the Burmese Government, the British Government omit or delay to have these withdrawals effected, the Burmese Government will issue instructions," (p. 11).

The style of this letter will be appreciated by all those who understand the East. It indicates insolent defiance on the King's part. In fact, he was by this time (autumn of 1884) hopeful of concluding an alliance with France, as will be presently seen.

I now come to the important topic of the Burmese King's dealings with France.*

* An authentic summary of Burmese overtures to France, and of French ambition respecting Burmah, will be found in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1886, pp. 232-35.

The first mention in the Blue Book consists of a telegram from the Viceroy (Lord Ripon) to the Secretary of State, of May 14th, 1883, in these words: "Chief Commissioner Rangoon reports departure for Mandalay of small official party for tour to great western nations, Europe; alleged object of expedition scientific and industrial" (p. 105).

When these Burmese gentlemen reached Paris, they turned out to be "high officers of state," and "envoys," forming collectively "a Burmese mission," for the purpose of resuscitating an inchoate treaty with France of ten years previous (1873), which had fallen through. Or, as an alternative, they would arrange a new and more important treaty. They remained negotiating at Paris for a whole year.

Then it transpired in May, 1884, that in their negotiations they were trying to purchase arms from France. M. Jules Ferry tells Lord Lyons, the Ambassador, that "they were holding out for a clause authorising the free passage of arms through their territory; but to this the French Government were absolutely determined not to agree. They were by no means disposed to facilitate the introduction of arms into Tonquin" (p. 111).

In the following month (June) the apprehensions of the British Government have been justly excited, and Lord Kimberley, as Secretary of State for India, addresses Lord Granville, the Foreign Secretary.

A few days later (July) Lord Granville instructs Lord Lyons at Paris to endeavour to obtain from the French Government a definite promise that the functions of any agent who may be appointed under this article (of Treaty of 1873) should be purely of a commercial, and not in any sense of a political character" (p. 116).

Lord Lyons then calls on M. Jules Ferry. But the French Minister, in the course of a friendly conversation, makes some remarks that are not reassuring. *Inter alia*, he says, "that it is very difficult to draw a distinct line between commercial and political functions;" and that the French and Burmese were about to become neighbours" (p. 117).

Then Lord Lyons leaves with M. Ferry an important paper "*pro memoria*" dated 11th July), which runs thus:

"In the month of November last, Lord Lyons had the honour to speak, first to M. Challemel Lacour, and afterwards to M. Jules Ferry, of the mission from Burmah which had come to Paris; and he begged their Excellencies to bear in mind that, in consequence of its vicinity to British India, and of its political relations with that empire, Burmah occupied a peculiar position with regard to Her Majesty's Government, and one which gave them a special interest in all that concerned it. Lord Lyons has spoken frequently in this same sense to

M. Jules Ferry. He has pointed out to His Excellency the serious objections which Her Majesty's Government naturally entertain to any special alliance or political understanding between Burmah and any other power; and with reference to the negotiations going on between the French Foreign Department and the Burmese Mission, he has earnestly represented to His Excellency the feelings of Her Majesty's Government adverse to the conclusion of any agreement between Burmah and a foreign government containing stipulations beyond those of a purely commercial character. Lord Lyons has, moreover, begged M. Jules Ferry to consider that, in a case like this, caution is required lest even commercial stipulations might have effects which might not be apparent at first sight; and has pressed upon his Excellency the importance of not forgetting, even in making commercial arrangements with Burmah, the very peculiar position of that country in relation to British India" (p. 118).

A few days later (in July) Lord Lyons reports the following observations by M. Ferry: "It was quite true that the Burmese desired to throw themselves into the arms of France, but the French Government were determined not to accept any offers of this kind. They had no intention of forming with Burmah an alliance defensive and offensive, or any alliance whatever of a special character * * The Burmese, indeed, asked many things, and par-

ticularly demanded facilities for procuring arms; but to all such requests the French Government turned a deaf ear" (p. 119).

Here, then, is an important testimony as to the real purpose and intention of the Burmese negotiators. Still all that the proposed treaty amounted to was "of a commercial and consular character."

A few months later, on January 5th, 1885, M. Ferry tells Lord Lyons that Burmah had become a neighbour of French possessions, and that it might be necessary to make treaty arrangements with regard to the frontier.

After staying in Paris eighteen months, the Burmese officials, who now style themselves ambassadors, or envoys, conclude a commercial treaty at Paris with the French Government. On 16th January, 1885, M. Jules Ferry tells Lord Lyons that it had at last been signed, and intimates that probably the French Government would send a Consul to Burmah (p. 122).

The Burmese envoys then start for Rome, to revise the existing commercial treaty with the Italian Government, and take the opportunity of making a similar arrangement with the German Government (p. 162).

In February, 1885, Lord Lyons writes at Paris, "There can be no doubt that the aim of the Burmese was to obtain from the French Government such a treaty as would enable them to appeal to France in case

of their being involved in difficulties with England; or, in fact, that their great object in forming relations with European powers has been and is to find means of emancipating themselves from the special influence and control of the Indian Government.

* * * With or without a fresh treaty the Burmese will endeavour to form in practice a closer connection with France than has hitherto existed. With a view to free themselves from English control, the Burmese have offered to throw themselves into the arms of France. These offers, M. Ferry assures me, have been rejected by the French Government. But the spirit in which they have been made will continue to animate the Burmese; while, on the other hand, the progress of French power to the east of Burmah will add to the importance attached by the French Government to a country of which M. Ferry already speaks as about to become a neighbour of France" (p. 123).

Shortly afterwards, March 1885, we find that, in accordance with the treaty made at Paris as above described, a French consular agent had arrived at Mandalay. A despatch from Lord Dufferin's government in India adverts to the event in these terms. "The presence of a French consular agent at Mandalay is likely to increase our difficulties in dealing with the Court of Ava, and to prove antagonistic to British interests" (p. 125).

Very soon afterwards, April 1885, we perceive

that the anticipation of the Government of India is likely to be fulfilled. A French speculator and engineer, Bonvillein and Co., endeavour to obtain a concession of various ruby mines in three districts, and offer the Burmese Government a payment of 30,000*l.* annually for a term of years (rubies being among the valuable articles of Burmah trade) (p. 159).

Adverting to this, Lord Lyons writes, "One of the first results of an increase in commercial intercourse between the two countries (France and Burmah) will be strenuous endeavours on the part of speculative Frenchmen to obtain profitable concessions from the Burmese Government" (p. 161).

This anticipation also is soon fulfilled. On 25th July, the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, telegraphs thus to the Secretary of State in London ;

"French Government has arranged with Burmah for construction of railway from Mandalay to frontier, France providing two millions sterling, and completing in seven years, interest $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Also for bank at Mandalay with capital $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, Burmah getting requirements at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and giving ruby mines and revenues of Letpel for security, earth-oil share of profits and Irawaddy duties jointly collected pledged as guarantee for interest—embassy proceeds immediately to France to ratify."

On 29th July the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah (Mr. Bernard) telegraphs :

“Burmese documents have reached me which confirm account of Ava negotiations with France. Matters still in inchoate stage. If proposed arrangements concluded, French agents would dominate all trade and chief sources of revenue in Ava—consequences to British trade and interests disastrous” (p. 168).

Among these documents is a letter from a French authority in these terms :—

“With respect to transport through the province of Tonquin to Burmah of arms of various kinds, ammunition, and military stores generally, amicable arrangements will be come to with the Burmese Government for the passage of the same when peace and order shall prevail in Tonquin, and the officers stationed there are satisfied that it is proper, and that there is no danger” (p. 170).

The Burmese ambassador on his way to Paris passes through Rangoon, and in conversation with the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner admits that these proposals had actually been entertained by the Court of Ava. They originated from M. Trevelec, the gentleman who acted as interpreter or assistant to the Burmese ambassadors during their stay in Paris in 1883-4 (p. 170).

Adverting to these affairs Mr. Bernard writes, “I believe this much, namely, that French agents

are trying to establish themselves strongly at Mandalay, with a view to joining hands at some future time with the French possessions on the upper reaches of the Red River (Tonquin) " (p. 171).

After consideration of the detailed documents which have reached him he writes on July 28th,

"These agreements, if they were finally ratified and carried out, would give the French Government, or a syndicate on which the French Government would be represented, full control over

"(a.) The principal sources of revenue in Upper Burmah.

"(b.) The trade by steamers or boats on the Irawaddy river.

"(c.) The only railway line in Upper Burmah.

"(d.) The only route now open for traffic from British ports to Western China.

"And in effect these arrangements, if carried out, would make France and French influence altogether dominant on, and would in the end exclude British trade from, the valley of the Upper Irawaddy.

"These consequences would be disastrous to British interests in Lower Burmah (British) " (p. 173).

Further, it appears that the French Consul at Mandalay, M. Haas, stated that "he was pressing the Burmese Government very hard to have proper treaties made with France, Italy, and Germany, and to get each of these countries to proclaim Burmah as a neutral zone, and thinks that it can be carried through in about four months" (p. 175).

This was stated about the middle of July.

It transpired afterwards, 23rd Sept., that the text of the charter and agreement for the Franco-Burmese bank had been prepared in Paris, in March 1885, by a Frenchman, styling himself "Explorator," and had been accepted by the Burmese ambassador at Rome in the following month, April (p. 218). The text consists of fifteen articles, which fully justify the apprehensions by Mr. Bernard as above expressed.

When these matters were represented by Lord Salisbury to M. Waddington, the French ambassador remarked "That when he himself was Foreign Minister a similar offer had been made to him in respect to the affairs of Burmah, and that he had absolutely refused to maintain any communication with the applicant" (p. 170).

On 28th August, Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State for India, urges that the Ambassador at Paris may be instructed without delay to communicate to the Government of France, that Her Majesty's Government will not allow the King of Burmah to carry to a practical issue such commercial projects as are, without doubt, at present in contemplation; and that any further prosecution of them will necessitate such prompt and decided measures as may most effectually satisfy the paramount rights of India in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and protect the interests of British subjects" (p. 177).

On Sept. 9th Lord Salisbury states that "it would not be in the power of Her Majesty's Government to acquiesce in the transfer to any person, who was not a British subject, of control over any portion of the Burmese revenues, or of the prerogatives which, according to eastern custom, are usually vested in the ruler of the country" (p. 177).

Then on Sept. 18th M. de Freycinet states that "the French Government, on being made acquainted with what was occurring, would at once take steps to obviate the embarrassments which there was so much reason to apprehend" (p. 209). On Sept. 28th M. Waddington informs Lord Salisbury that "the French Government knew absolutely nothing about such agreements (as those which have been mentioned). They had given no kind of authority for making them, and had, as a fact, no knowledge that they had been made" (p. 210).

I have given these extracts at some length, because they show clearly the danger which menaced the British position. They prove also that arrangements beginning as commercial ended in being political to a perilous extent. The events too, as will have been seen, unfolded themselves with startling rapidity. The treaty is concluded in January 1885, between France and Burmah, the French Consul arrives at Ava in the spring, and by midsummer arrangements are made

which, if fully completed, would have placed the whole kingdom of Ava at the disposal of a French agency. This necessitated prompt and energetic action on the part of the British Government for instant prevention. It is true that the French Government very properly disowned the proceedings of the Consul which were being rendered abortive by the British protest. But had not the consular measures been frustrated in time, had they reached the stage of accomplishment, then the French Government might have adopted a different line. They might very conceivably have said that they must accept the "*fait accompli*," and could not undo what had been done.

We may now leave these transactions and advert to the affair of the Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation.

The oppressive conduct of the Burmese Government towards that Corporation was one of the causes which brought about hostilities ending in the annexation of Burmah. But this conduct did not stand alone, being, indeed, connected with, or springing out of, the French affairs just mentioned, as will be seen thus.

On 20th August, 1885, Lord Dufferin telegraphs to the Secretary of State in London ;

"London Agents Bombay and Burmah Trading Corporation state that on false pretext of fraudulent removal of timber fine of £100,000 (ten lacs)

has been imposed on Company (Corporation), and leases cancelled under which they have worked forests in about one-half of British Burmah for twenty years. Action attributed to petition of French Consul to the Burmese Ministers that if Company's leases were cancelled French Government would take them over. Company requests assistance of Government as large British-Indian interests are at stake " (p. 175).

These threats, however, had been going on for some time, for on June 17th the Chief Commissioner (Mr. Bernard) had thus addressed the Minister at Ava :—" Seeing how long the Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation have worked forests under your Excellency's government, what large sums they have paid to His Majesty's Treasury, and how much advantage has accrued to both countries from their timber trade, the Chief Commissioner hopes that the Corporation may be able to satisfy your Excellency on the points (in dispute) " (p. 182).

This is said after every facility had been granted on the British side for verifying the number of timber logs that had passed down the river, and after attention had been drawn to the acquittances granted to the Corporation by the Forest Department of Ava.

On August 31st Mr. Bernard reports that the Corporation had been ordered to pay, by way of

duty and fine, sums aggregating about 23 lacs (230,000*l.*), and to the foresters sums aggregating about 5 lacs (50,000*l.*). He adds, after discussing various points in the case, "It is clear that the decree is based on insufficient information and inaccurate data, and there can be no doubt that the sum now demanded is very greatly in excess of what can, under any circumstances, be really due, or of what the Corporation can possibly pay. It will be observed that the Corporation are of opinion that the Ava Government have been encouraged to make the present demand by a letter from the French Consul at Mandalay, in which he is said to have offered to take up the contracts for the Ningyan forests in case the contracts with the Corporation are cancelled. Under these circumstances the London agents of the firm have addressed a formal notice to the French Government to the effect that, in the event of interference with their rights in the Ningyan Forests, the Corporation intend on the arrival of the logs in British Burmah to employ the usual legal remedies for the protection of their interests" (p. 206).

On 28th August the Chief Commissioner writes to the Minister at Ava: "If His Majesty the King's Government would be willing to abide by the decision of an arbitrator in the matter, His Excellency the Viceroy would be ready to appoint an officer of judicial experience to investigate the facts at

Ningyan and Toungoo, to hear the statements of His Majesty the King's forest officers and the answers of the Corporation, and then to arbitrate on the points in dispute" (p. 207).

On September 15th Mr. Bernard reports: "The extent of the stake which the Corporation have in their undertaking may be gauged from the fact that they have—

- (1) Several thousands of employés, of whom perhaps 15 or 20 are Europeans, and 2,000, or so, British subjects;
- (2) 900 elephants;
- (3) Nearly 10,000 buffaloes;
- (4) About 150,000 logs of teak, in different conditions of preparedness for export.

They have all these employés and all this property in Upper Burmah. I suppose that the value of their timber and plant is from 50 to 70 lacs at least (500,000*l.* to 700,000*l.*)" (p. 213).

Meanwhile an ambassador had been sent from Ava to reside permanently in Paris. On his way he arrives at Rangoon, and on 1st August (1885) presents to Mr. Bernard the following letter from the Burmese Government:—

"The Burmese and French Governments have entered into a permanent and duly executed treaty of international friendship for the advancement of their mutual interests. In conformity with the provisions of that treaty, and by order of His

Majesty the King, Wundaukdaw Thangyet Wun, &c., &c., has been appointed ambassador plenipotentiary, and permanently accredited to the Court of France " (p. 214).

As might be expected, the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce take the alarm. They telegraph to Lord Dufferin thus on the 25th Sept.: "Telegrams from Rangoon Chamber report that Burmese ambassador conveys to France signed treaty, giving French Company exclusive privilege to construct railways, form banks, Upper Burmah. Treaty pledges customs, forest revenues" (p. 215).

On the 23rd Oct. the London Chamber of Commerce address Lord Randolph Churchill to the same effect (p. 225). This is followed by a similar representation from the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce on 29th Oct. (p. 226). Both these Chambers strongly represented the danger to the commerce of the empire from the condition of affairs in Ava.

I have cited these various extracts because they shew that the treatment of the Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation was not an isolated case of civil wrong. It was really a point in a concatenation of political circumstances menacing to the British position in Ava. There can be no doubt that the King seized the occasion in the autumn of 1885, to break suddenly and violently an arrangement of twenty years' standing with the British Corporation, in order to favour French speculators and capitalists

with the encouragement of the French Consul. It is true that these transactions were loyally disowned by the French Government. But that Government does not appear from the Blue Book to have said that their Consul would be prohibited from repeating his intervention. Nor was the ambition arising out of French neighbourhood to Burmah, as repeatedly indicated by M. Ferry, in any wise disclaimed. That particular Consul, was indeed relieved from his duties at Mandalay, but only on the ground of health (p. 232). It was difficult to know whether his conduct was really disapproved. Another Consul had been appointed and another Burmese ambassador had arrived at Paris. The King's signed agreements with enterprising French subjects were still valid. Notwithstanding the disavowal of official action by the French Government, these agreements might be, indeed would have been brought into operation by the King, had not the British intervened by force. As Lord Randolph Churchill justly remarks, on 5th October, it was "not that a Convention had been concluded between the French and Burmese Governments, but that the French Consul at Mandalay, in connexion with certain commercial projects of a French capitalist, was encouraging the King of Burmah in a course of action calculated to cause prejudice to his own position as well as to British interests, and that it would not be possible for Her Majesty's Govern-

ment to permit the King to carry such projects to a practical conclusion (p. 211).

This situation continued notwithstanding the diplomatic assurances which M. de Freycinet and M. Waddington had been good enough to give a few days previously.

Then, superadded to all this, as the last load of the burden long piled up, there came the incident with the British Corporation, as the most flagrant case in the whole series of provocations. It proved that the King's audacity and resolution were unabated, and that he would, if not forcibly stopped, continue his hostile proceedings until the British were effaced from Ava, and his country was placed under the protectorate of France. This left absolutely no honourable alternative but war. Apart from questions of national interest as set forth in the foregoing extracts, the British Government could never have abandoned a great British Corporation to be ruthlessly pillaged, and massacred in event of their trying to defend themselves, close on the British frontier. This violence was to be perpetrated under pretexts almost as flimsy as those which the wolf in the fable advanced for devouring the lamb. If under the circumstances the British Government had tolerated these things, it would have flung to the winds the time-honoured dictum of "*Civis Romanus sum.*"

Moreover, if military operations were to be under-

taken, there was not a month, not even a week, to be lost. The transit must mainly be by the Irrawaddy channels. The river is uncertain as the water falls in the winter time. The open season for European troops is critically short, as the hot weather begins from the earliest days in spring. The Burmese had means of making a resistance for the overcoming of which some little time might be required. As the event occurred, their resistance proved very short, but the British authorities could not reckon on this. They were rather bound to assume that the Burmese would offer such warlike opposition as might be practicable. If, then, the latter weeks of autumn and the first week of winter in 1885 had been allowed to slip away, then the undertaking might have been too late. Either we might have failed to break the Burmese power in the season of 1885-6; or, we might have been obliged to postpone the expedition for a year. Within a year there might have been dangerous developments politically in the Indo-Chinese peninsulas to which the Burmese kingdom is adjacent. With all due respect to the neighbouring and friendly power of France, we were bound to recognise the marked advance which that power has been and is still making in Tonquin, Annam, Cochin China, and Cambodia. We could not overlook the martial part which France had quite recently been playing in China. Still less could we forget the uncomfortable

indications which French influence was causing in Siam, a country which touches us very closely.

The option thus was reduced to one of two alternatives, either to allow British honour and interest to be relegated to complications which might prove insoluble hereafter, or to bring matters to an issue and arbitrament by armed demonstration without the least delay.

At length we reach the final stage of these long-protracted affairs, immediately preceding hostilities.

When the King of Ava finally refused to re-open the case of the Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, on the 19th Oct., 1885, instructs Mr. Bernard, at Rangoon, to send an ultimatum. Mr. Bernard replies, that he will despatch it so as to reach Mandalay by 30th. His letter is dated the 22nd Oct., in these terms, addressed to the Ministers at Mandalay:—

“Your letter definitely rejects the Viceroy’s proposal to refer the questions in dispute to an arbitrator, and refuses to permit any postponement in the execution of the decree against the Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation. I am now to inform you, that the Viceroy is unable to accept this your reply. As the offer to depute an arbitrator has been rejected, the British Government must now insist upon the reception by your Government at Mandalay of an envoy, to be sent at once by the

Viceroy, and upon the settlement of the present dispute with the concurrence of the envoy. It will be necessary that the envoy should have free access to His Majesty the King, and that he should not be asked to submit to any humiliating ceremonies inconsistent with the diplomatic usage of western nations. Pending the arrival of the envoy at Mandalay, I am to request that your Government will refrain from enforcing their claims against the Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation; and I am to intimate that if any action of the kind has been, or should be, taken, the Government of India will act in such a way as may seem best to them, without communication with you. I am further to inform you, that the present and other recent incidents have shown the necessity for the permanent retention of a diplomatic agent of the Viceroy at Mandalay. The agent will be supplied by the Government of India with a British guard of honour, and a British steamer will be furnished for his use. Your Government will be requested to provide him with a suitable residence near the river, and to accord him the honourable treatment to which he will be entitled as agent to the Viceroy. There are two other matters which I am to mention to you. The British Government will expect the Government of Ava in future to regulate the external relations of the realm in accordance with the advice of the Viceroy of India; and they will

expect your Government to afford complete facilities for opening up British trade with China" (p. 253).

The terms were again specifically summarized at the close of the letter, so that there might be no possible doubt as to the character of the ultimatum. It was stated that no counter propositions could be entertained, and that a plain answer—either of acceptance or non-acceptance—was requested. It was added, that an answer to this ultimatum was expected on or before 10th November.

I have given the decisive passages *in extenso* of this despatch, the last letter ever addressed by the British Government to the Court at Ava. Half a century of diplomatic correspondence—always more or less unsatisfactory, sometimes reaching an acute stage, and for the last ten years becoming more and more embarrassed—had at length ended in this! Nevertheless, the terms, though peremptory, were such as the King might well have accepted. By accepting them he would have maintained his regal dignity and his territorial status. He would have been freed from foreign complications, and shielded from external attack. He would have seen his country prospering internally. But he was blinded by fatuous misapprehension and barbaric pride. He disregarded the elder counsellors, who advised peace with timely concessions. But he heeded the promptings of violent advisers, who urged refusal at the

risk of war, relying on the assistance of foreign European powers.

The information must have reached the King, at Mandalay, on 30th October. On 4th November he gives his answer. As regards the Trading Corporation he maintains the rightfulness of his decree against them, but says that "if they present a petition he will be pleased to look after and assist foreign merchants so that they should not suffer any loss." This is, of course, an indefinite answer from him to a precisely definite request. It is rendered worse by the additional remark of his, that as he has said this much, the need for discussion regarding the case between the two Governments is at an end. In the mouth of an Oriental this means an ultimate refusal. As regards the diplomatic agency, he says, that, "if the British Government wish to re-establish an agent in future, he will be permitted to reside, and come in and go out, as in former times." As an answer from him to the exactly formulated request of the British Government this is held to be in the minor part acceptance, and in the major part refusal. As regards the opening up of trade with China, he gives a sufficiently good assurance. Lastly, he offers a significant reply thus;

"About the future regulation of the foreign relations of Burmah. The internal and external affairs of an independent separate State are regulated and controlled in accordance with the customs and laws of

that State. Friendly relations with France, Italy, and other States have been, or are being, and will be, maintained. Therefore, in determining the question whether or not it is proper that one Government (the British) alone should make such claim, the Burmese Government can follow the joint decision of the three States, France, Germany, and Italy, who are friends of both Governments (British and Burmese)" (p. 257).

Here then was the final refusal. Apparently the King hoped that the British Government would forbear upon hearing the names invoked of France, Italy, and Germany. Such was the straw at which the drowning King would fain catch. In this supreme moment there is drawn from him the confession that the object of the diplomacy during many months in Europe was to build up such alliance with the Continental powers as might stand him in good stead when the rupture with England should be impending. Here is the key wherewith to unlock those diplomatic secrets; here is the clue wherewith to unravel that tangled skein!

No sooner had he despatched this reply than he began to feel that this fencing with ultimate demands would be of no avail, and that in fact all was over. So three days later, that is on 7th November, he resolved upon the initiative in war, and issued the following proclamation:

"To all town and village thugyes, heads of

cavalry, heads of the daings, shield-bearers, heads of jails, heads of gold and silver revenues, mine-workers, settlement officers, heads of forests, and to all loyal subjects and inhabitants of the royal empire. Those heretics, the English kalas (Indian foreigners), having most harshly made demands calculated to bring about the impairment and destruction of our religion, the violation of our national traditions and customs, and the degradation of our race, are making a show and preparation as if about to wage war with our State. They have been replied to in conformity with the usages of great nations and in words which are just and regular. If, notwithstanding, these heretic kalas should come and in any way attempt to molest or disturb the State, his Majesty, who is watchful that the interests of our religion and our State shall not suffer, will himself march forth with his generals, captains, and lieutenants, with large forces of infantry, artillery, elephanterie, and cavalry, by land and by water, and with the might of his army will efface these heretic kalas, and conquer and annex their country. All royal subjects, the people of the country, are not to be alarmed or disturbed on account of the hostility of these heretic kalas, and are not to avoid them by quitting the country. * * * * * The royal troops, who are already banded into regiments at Mandalay, will be sent forth to attack, destroy, and annex * * * * * To uphold the religion, the

national honour, and the country's interests will bring about threefold good ; good of our religion, good of our master, good of ourselves ; and will gain for us the important result of placing us in the path to the celestial regions and to Nibban Nirvana " (a sort of transcendental quietude, or "beatific rest") (p. 257).

This was, of course, a declaration of war against the British. It is euphemistically styled by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State as "an openly hostile proclamation."

Six days later, 13th November, General Prendergast was ordered to cross the frontier of Ava from British Burmah, and to advance upon Mandalay. The British proclamation recounted in quiet and moderate language "the long-continued series of provocations," as shown in the foregoing extracts from the Blue Book. It added, that the King's "administration had been allowed to fall into such a state of disorder as to fill the country with marauders, and to expose the neighbouring British territory to their inroads." It is addressed to "all priests, land-holders, traders, officials, and other residents in the country of Upper Burmah." It declares that "none will have anything to apprehend so long as you do not oppose the passage of the British troops. Your private rights, your religion, and national customs will be scrupulously respected, and the Government of India will recognise the services of all amongst you,

whether official or others, who show zeal in assisting the British authorities to preserve order" (p. 231).

The shelling of stockades and river-side forts of the Irawaddy began on 16th November. After various operations the British forces arrive within 30 miles of Mandalay on 26th. They are met by King's barge with a flag of truce. The surrender of the King, of his army, and his forts, is demanded, also a guarantee of the safety of Europeans at Mandalay. On the 27th these terms are acceded to, and the next day Prendergast advances on Mandalay (p. 258). The King surrenders and is put on board a British steamer, in order that he may be conveyed beyond the dominions which have ceased to be his. On 3rd December it is officially reported that the royal party, consisting of "the king, queen, and queen's mother, the kin-woon, two members of the council, three woons, sixteen princesses and maids of honour, forty-three followers, total sixty-eight," are in British territory (p. 260). On 10th December it is further reported that they have sailed from Rangoon for Madras.

Meanwhile a provisional government had been established at Mandalay by General Sir Harry Prendergast, and an expedition had been sent up the river Irawaddy to Bhamo (p. 262).

On 31st December the Secretary of State for India, Lord Randolph Churchill, sets forth elaborately in a dispatch to the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, the reasons why Her Majesty's Government had re-

solved that the territories of Upper Burmah, formerly under the rule of King Theebaw, shall become part of Her Majesty's dominions. The despatch, going back to 1878, adverts to the unredressed wrongs of British subjects; the disregard of treaties still in force; the injury to commerce on the Irawaddy. It recounts the further deterioration of conditions already bad on the accession of King Theebaw; the atrocious massacres ordered by him, despite strenuous remonstrances on the part of the British Government; the insolent and menacing attitude of the Burmese at Mandalay towards the British Resident, and his consequent withdrawal. Then it is stated that "fresh atrocities took place at Mandalay; bands of armed Dacoits roamed at will; raids were made into British territory; Upper Burmah became completely disorganized." Nevertheless, when the Court of Ava offered new proposals for a treaty to the Government of India, "a most friendly reception was accorded to the Burmese Mission, and the Viceroy (Lord Ripon) took the utmost trouble and pains to bring the negotiations to a successful and satisfactory issue. King Theebaw however suddenly recalled his envoy." * * * * "The Court of Ava developed its policy of menace and hostility to the British Government of India by the despatch of a mission to Europe, seeking alliances with foreign powers for the purpose of attaining political and

commercial arrangements which could not but conflict very seriously with British interests, and lead to intrigues by foreign agents at Mandalay, the initiation even of which Her Majesty's Government could not for a moment tolerate. As long as the kingdom of Ava occupied an isolated position the British Government could afford to submit to much provocation, but, when the external policy of the Burmese Court indicated designs which if prosecuted with impunity could only result in the establishment of preponderating foreign influence in the upper valley of the Irawaddy, it became impossible for Her Majesty's Government any longer to view the situation without considerable anxiety."

Then the despatch recounts the case of the Trading Corporation and the conduct of the King, "instigated in all probability by counsellors outside the Burmese Government," and amounting to "undisguised hostility to the British Empire." After this review it proceeds to say, "The time had come for terminating the deplorable state of things which had grown up in Mandalay. Had the Government of India delayed action a situation would have been created in Upper Burmah most prejudicial to the commercial and political interests of the Empire, and with which it might have been difficult hereafter to deal." The despatch concludes by warmly acknowledging the "judgment and decision which

had signalized Lord Dufferin's proceedings in the accomplishment of a most anxious task" (pp. 263 to 266).

The Blue Book concludes with the proclamation, issued on New Year's Day 1886, to the effect that "the territories formerly governed by King Theebaw will be no longer under his rule but have become part of Her Majesty's dominions."

The extensive country thus annexed is rich in soil, in agriculture, in forests, in minerals. It has the remains still traceable of a bygone civilization. It is distinguished by scenery on a noble scale. The following is a graphic description of the mid-Irawaddy valley, given by Captain (now Colonel) Yule, in 1855, in the Report of his Mission to Ava:

"The hill was ascended by a very steep and fatiguing staircase of 275 steps * * * But the view would have repaid a much more fatiguing ascent than this. The scene was one to be registered in the memory with some half dozen others which cannot be forgotten. The Irawaddy here forms a great elbow * * * Northward the wide river stretched, embracing innumerable islands, till seemingly hemmed in and lost among the mountains. Behind us, curving rapidly round the point on which we stood, it passed away to the westward and was lost in the blaze of a dazzling sunset. North-westward runs the little barren broken ridges of Sagain, every

point and spur of which was marked by some monastic building or pagoda. Nearly opposite to us lay Amerapura, with just enough haze upon its temples and towers to lend them all the magic of an Italian city. A great bell-shaped spire, rising faintly white in the middle of the town, might well pass for a great Duomo. You could not discern that the domes and spires were those of dead heathen masses of brickwork, and that the body of the city was bamboo and thatch. It might have been Venice it looked so beautiful. Behind it rose range after range of mountains robed in blue enchantment. Between our station and the river was only a barren strip of intense green foliage, mingled with white temples, spires, and cottage roofs. The great elbow of the river below us, mirroring the shadows of the woods on its banks and the glowing clouds above, had been like a lake were it not that the downward drift of the war-boats as they crossed and re-crossed marked so distinctly the current of the kingly stream. The high bank of the river opposite Sagain eastward was seen to be a long belt of island covered with glorious foliage; only here and there rose an unwooded crest crowned with its Cybeleian coronet of towers. Behind this were numerous other wooded islands or isolated villages and temples and monasteries rising directly out of the flood-waters. Southwards, across the river,

was the old city of Ava, now a thicket of tangled gardens and jungle, but marked by the remaining spires of temples " (p. 64, *Mission to Ava*).

The following is the description given of Chanta, between Bhamo on the Upper Irawaddy and the Yunnan frontier, by the late lamented Captain Gill, in his "*River of the Golden Sand*."

"It was a lovely scene: the plain was covered with rice-fields, the crop nearly ripe, and as yellow as a September cornfield at home: dotted over it were numerous villages, all enclosed, and the houses nearly hidden by fine bamboo or banyan trees. Here and there would be a noble old banyan, placed by nature on the summit of some grassy knoll, that rose up from the midst of the golden meadows
* * * * * On both sides rose a fine range of mountains, then slopes diversified by woods, patches of cultivation and stretches of fine grass; and winding through the plain the fine river rolled smoothly down to join the Irawaddy" (p. 287, condensed edition of 1883).

For the exploitation of this beautiful country railways will be needed. We cannot doubt that British enterprise will be at once directed thither. Already explorers have been pioneering in these regions with a view to finding lines for railways. In order that the scope of these very important projects may be understood, reference should be

had to the sketch map, appended to Colquhoun's "Across Chrysè" (vol. ii.). A line is proposed to be constructed from the present railway terminus at Toungoo, in the Pegu province of British Burmah, to Mandalay and Bhamo, with extension to Assam, in India. Then a new line is proposed from Moulmein and Martaban (in the Tenasserim province of British Burmah) to Zimmè, in the Siamese Shan States, to the upper valley of the Mekhong, and thence to Talifoo, in Yunnan. This project would be connected with the Upper Burmah Railway by a line from Bhamo by Moelmein to Talifoo. These projects are discussed by Colquhoun in his "Across Chrysè," vol. ii. pp. 105-190, and pp. 233-236. The line through the Shan States from Moulmein is thought to be specially promising. This view is further sustained generally by Mr. Holt Hallett, the successful explorer, in his address to the Royal Geographical Society, in November 1885. But apparently he would take the line to the east of Zimmè.

The result of these projects will rivet the interest of all British people who love their country and desire to see her trade so developed abroad that there may be never-failing employment for her industrial population at home. This practically immense field might have been lost to British enterprise, and transferred to a foreign competitor,

had the British Government not forcefully intervened during the autumn of 1885. That loss has now been averted by timely and patriotic action. If hereafter this railway system shall be completed, then a new leaf will be turned over in the Imperial volume, and a fresh chapter will be opened in the history of Britain in the East.

Well did Lord Randolph Churchill say in the House of Commons, on January 25th, 1886, "I am proud of belonging to a Government which has added to the dominions of the Crown, to the enterprise of British commerce, and to the area of civilization and of progress, so vast and valuable a possession."

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHINESE POPULATION.*

Statements of the population by the Chinese themselves—
 Application of a scientific test to these statements—Test
 derived from averages of the Census for India—Comparison
 between China and India—Indian averages applied to the
 eighteen Chinese provinces—To the deltaic districts—To
 those adjoining the Pacific Ocean—To the inland provinces
 —To the mountainous frontier—To Szechuen and Yunnan
 —Summary of results for China proper—Population of the
 central Asiatic plateau, a dependency of China—Mongolia
 and Tibet—Population of the Chinese and the British
 Empire respectively—Total number of Christians in the
 world and of Buddhists.

THE population of China has, from its vastness,
 long been among the marvels of the civilised world.
 Its numbers have been believed to exceed those of
 any other people, ancient or modern. But, as
 scientific inquiry in recent times began to penetrate
 into Chinese regions, doubts arose as to the num-

* Paper read before the Statistical Society, London, February 1885.

bering of the people. The Government had from age to age been nominally ascertaining the number of its subjects, and setting forth the results of the supposed enumeration. But these results, instead of showing a steady decline or a steady increase, or such moderate fluctuations as could reasonably be understood, showed violent and almost incredible variations. Though some of these variations could be explained away by changes of territorial dominion, yet enough of them remained to excite scepticism regarding the reality of the enumeration. The official numbers have within the last century and a-half ranged from 436 to 363 millions,* the general idea probably being to the effect that the population is about 400 millions of souls. But, apart from scepticism arising on general grounds, we have of late been repeatedly warned by British authorities specially acquainted with China that the so-called census in China cannot be depended upon, and that it is often only nominal. It must be added, however, that the number last published in China by official authority, about 350 millions, is much more moderate and apparently far more credible than the foregoing estimates.

Inasmuch as the number of the Chinese people is

* The population return of 1842 of 436 millions was an estimate, not a census. The highest *official census* was that of Kiaking, in the year 1812, and amounted to 362,477,183.

one of the most interesting, as well as one of the very largest, items in the population statistics of the world, it is well to see whether there are any means of testing it, and of forming some foundation of probability on which an estimate can be built up. Now, fortunately, such means are supplied by the census made under the British Government in India. It is remarkable that the area of the two countries, India and China proper (exclusive of the Central Plateau), is about the same, that is, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of square miles; in both countries there are long basins watered by great rivers, fertile deltas, broad plains, and numerous mountain chains, amidst the offshoots of which there are branching valleys, and, on the whole, many tracts that are thickly, together with many tracts that are thinly, inhabited. In both countries the population is most unequally distributed. Respecting India, the popular mind, considering the existence of teeming millions, which is a fact, imagines that the country is for the most part thickly populated, which is not the fact. The truth is that the country is for the most part thinly populated, but in some districts, even in some provinces, the population is dense, so dense indeed as to make up a tolerably high average for the whole area. The position of China proper is precisely similar. Both countries are under similar conditions, physical, ethnical, climatic, geographical. In both there is a strong tendency

to multiplication of the race. In both the population loves to congregate in favoured districts, to settle down and multiply there till the land can scarcely sustain the growing multitudes, and to leave the less favoured districts with a scanty though hardy population.

As, then, we possess full data regarding the Indian people, collected at various times during the last generation, and further revised by a general census taken in 1881, we may fairly reckon what, according to Indian averages, the Chinese population is likely to be. From that which is known regarding the Indian population we may proceed tentatively towards that which is not accurately known, or is almost unknown, regarding the Chinese population. That is a legitimate method of deduction in aid of a reasonable estimate of population statistics in China proper. This then is what I propose to attempt in the present paper.

The Chinese empire contains nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions of square miles. It consists of two main divisions, first, the Central Plateau, containing two-thirds of the whole area, and secondly, China proper, containing one-third.

The former, or the Central Plateau, is a wondrous region, comprising long chains of mountains, vast snow-fields, extensive lakes, wide-spreading deserts, together with some tracts of cultivation near rivers, and some broad uplands occupied by pastoral tribes.

Its area is enormous, nearly 3 millions of square miles. There are no means of ascertaining exactly the population of such a region, and no known averages of India or of any other country are applicable thereto. But we do know that the population is very scanty, and, relatively to the area, is small in the extreme.

The latter, or China proper, has about $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of square miles. This area, though far from being uniformly rich, has many fertile and densely-peopled tracts, and sustains a population which, though unequally distributed, and far from being homogeneous, is one of the largest, if not absolutely the largest, under any one dominion in the world. It is to test the probable numbers of this great population that I propose to apply the averages deduced from the census of India.

In the first place, the average of the population in India is that of 184 souls to the square mile, the area being 1,377,450 square miles, and the population 253,941,309 of souls. If this average were applied to the area of China proper, or 1,533,650 square miles (exclusive of the Central Plateau), then the population would be estimated at 282,191,600 of souls.

But let us apply the Indian averages to the Chinese provinces in detail. There are eighteen of such provinces. Of these provinces, two, namely, Pechili and Shantung, are partly deltaic or alluvial, and one, Kiangsu, almost entirely so.

Three, namely, Chekiang, Fukien, and Kwantung, are littoral, lying along the shore of the Pacific Ocean.

Three, namely, Ganhwey, Hupi, and Honan, are rich inland provinces.

Four, namely, Hunan, Kiangsi, Kwangsi, and Kweichow, are inland provinces of lesser though considerable richness.

Four, namely, Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, and Yunnan, are hilly frontier provinces.

And lastly, one, namely, Szechuen, is partly rich and partly mountainous.

Let us consider these several groups of provinces separately.

The Pechili province is deltaic and alluvial in those portions of it which are near the mouth of the Peiho river and its affluents. Many of these streams run through the low country and converge at Tien-Tsien, whence the united river flows into the Pechili Gulf.

This region has been regarded as the most densely-peopled part of China.* It is liable to wide-spreading inundations when the rising waters of the many streams fail to find a sufficient vent by the channel of the Peiho between Tien-Tsien and the

* But it may be equalled in density perhaps by the districts of Hankow and neighbourhood, at the junction of the Han river with the Yang-tse-Kiang.

gulf; indeed, the damage from these floods has been so great as to cause emigration, and thus to thin the population.

Its southern or lower division, about one-third of the whole, is generally lowland and rich. This division contains the two great towns of Peking and Tien-Tsien. But the upper, or northern division (about two-thirds of the whole), is highland or mountainous. At a short distance north of Peking there is the mountain range along the ridge of which runs the "Great Wall of China."

Now the lower division may be compared with the Indian province of Bengal, which is deltaic and alluvial, with a dense population of 505 to the square mile. The upper division may be compared to the Chutia Nagpore province, which is a hilly tract adjacent to the Gangetic delta of Bengal, and has a population of 130 to the square mile. Thus we have in the province of Pechili—

The lower division, or 25,000 square miles, at 505 average, 12,625,000 souls.

The upper division, or 42,270 square miles, at 130 average, 5,495,100 souls.

Total, 67,270 square miles and 18,120,100 souls.

Next, the province of Shantung mainly consists of a mountainous projection jutting out into the ocean and dividing the deltas of the Hoang-ho and Yang-tse-Kiang. It is a classic land to the Chinese, being much frequented by pilgrims, but does not

contain any great town. It comprises the lower course of the Hoang-ho; it is traversed by the great canal constructed to join artificially the natural water highways of the Hoang-ho and the Yang-tse-Kiang. To it, then, may be applied the Indian average of Bengal and Chutia Nagpore together, namely, 408 to the square mile. This would give for Shantung, then, 53,760 square miles, at 408 to the square mile, 21,934,080 souls.

Then comes the province of Kiang-su, entirely deltaic and alluvial, which, if not on the whole the richest, is yet the most uniformly low-lying, fertile, cultivated, and prosperous province of China. It is traversed almost from end to end by the great canal. It contains the lower course and the mouth of the Yang-tse-Kiang. It has the great town of Shanghai. To it the Indian average of deltaic Bengal is fairly applicable.

Thus we have for Kiang-su 40,130 square miles, at 505 to the square mile, 20,265,650 souls.

Then we have the two littoral provinces extending down the coast of the Pacific, namely, Chekiang and Fukien (including the island of Formosa). They are partly mountainous or hilly, but have some plains and rich valleys; they contain tea-producing districts; they have the great towns of Hangchow, Ningpo, and Foochow.

With these may be compared the Indian territories of the Madras presidency, which also lie on

or near the coast, with very rich tracts and some mountain ranges inland. The average density in the Madras presidency is 230 to the square mile; if this be applied to these two Chinese provinces, we have for Chekiang 35,660 square miles, at an average of 230 to the square mile 8,201,800 souls; and Fukien, 53,480 square miles, at the same average, 12,300,400 souls.

Continuing our view down the Pacific coast, we see the province of Kwantung. That province is traversed by the Sei-Kiang river, and contains the estuary and the town of Canton, also the town of Macao. It is in part hilly, but has rich plains and valleys. It may be compared with the Gujerat province on the western coast of India, north of Bombay, which province has a population of 260 to the square mile; thus we have for the province of Kwantung 104,190 square miles, at 260 to the square mile 27,089,400 souls.

Leaving the Pacific coast, we take the inland provinces of China. Of these the foremost are, first Honan, containing the middle valley of the Hoang-ho; then Hupi and Ganhwey, containing the middle valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang, and touching the shores of the two great inland lakes. These provinces contain the large towns of Hankow and Suchow; they produce all the best and characteristic products of China, and are to be classed among the fertile agricul-

tural districts of the world; they do not, however, form an unbroken champaign, being for the most part hilly, though intersected with rich plains and valleys. They are of course densely peopled. The best parts of them (say one-third of the whole) may be compared with the middle Gangetic basin of India, including Oudh and Behar, which is on the whole the finest part of India. Then one-third (being somewhat less good) may be compared with the North-western provinces of India (exclusive of Oudh), or the upper Gangetic basin. Lastly, the remaining one-third (being still less good) may be compared with the Punjab or the upper Indus basin. Now the average per square mile in Oudh and Behar is 511; in the North-western Provinces (exclusive of Oudh) 373, in the Punjab 176.

Thus we have for the three Chinese provinces the following estimate:—

	Square Miles.	Souls.
Honan	67,000	23,672,980
Hupi	70,450	24,891,607
Ganhwey	48,460	17,122,180

The next group of inland provinces consists of Hunan and Kiangsi: these comprise the shores of the two vast inland lakes Tungting and Poyang;

they have several tea-producing districts, but they are intersected by hill-ranges, with numerous spurs in all directions; they may be fitly compared with the Indian Punjab, which has several rugged or poorly cultivated tracts, but has also several rich and populous districts. It has just been seen that the Punjab average is 176 to the square mile.

The provinces then of Hunan and Kiangsi would, according to this, have the following population;—

	Square Miles.	Souls.
Hunan	83,000 at 176 to the sq. m.	14,608,000
Kiangsi	68,570 ,,	12,068,320

The adjoining group of inland provinces consists of Kwangsi and Kweichow. Their topography resembles that of the last two provinces, but they are inferior in natural capabilities, and have suffered from various special causes. To Kwangsi, which contains the upper valley of the Sei-Kiang, may be applied the Indian average of the Central Provinces, or 116; this would assign to Kwangsi a population of 9,077,000 souls for an area of 78,250 square miles. To Kweichow, which is inferior and very hilly, may be applied the Indian average of the Native States of the Bombay presidency, or

94; this would give to Kweichow a population of 6,067,700 souls for an area of 64,550 square miles.

We have heretofore been proceeding from east to west. Following this course we reach the three mountainous provinces on the western border of China proper and adjoining the Central Plateau. These are Yunnan, Shansi, and Shensi; the first, Yunnan, comprises the upper basin of the Yangtse-Kiang, and is generally mountainous; though possessing boundless capabilities, it has suffered much from special causes.

The next two, Shansi and Shensi, include nearly all the upper basin of the Hoang-ho, and they too are mountainous, being bounded on the north by the Great Wall. But they, though in many parts little cultivated or inhabited, have some strips or patches of fairly peopled country. To Shansi and Shensi may be fairly applied the Indian averages of the Central Provinces of India or of the Hyderabad Deccan, or of the Central India Agency; these are respectively 116, 120, and 123 to the square mile. All these Indian divisions have strips of fertile riverain land scattered among districts but little cultivated. Then to one-half of Yunnan may be applied the above-named average of 116, and to the other half the average of British Burma, namely, 42.

Thus we obtain the following estimate :—

	Square Miles.	Souls.
Shansi.....	65,950 at 123	8,111,855
Shensi.....	81,190 „ 123	9,986,370
Yunnan.....	61,120 „ 116	7,100,360
{ half	61,120 „ 42	2,570,820
{ „		9,671,180

Next, adjoining Shensi, is the wild and extensive province of Kansu, which, though reckoned a part of China proper, belongs physically to the Central Plateau, and is in many parts a fearful desert. At least one-third of it must be uninhabited and may be left blank. To the remaining two-thirds may be applied the Indian averages of the Rajputana States, or 78 to the square mile, and of Sindh, or 50 to the square mile, as both these large territories, though partly cultivated, are in many parts very thinly inhabited. Thus the area of Kansu, or 262,520 square miles, would have an estimated population of 11,200,768 souls, one-third being taken as desert absolutely, one-third at an average of 78 to the square mile, and one-third at an average of 50.

Lastly, there is Szechuen, next after Kansu the largest of the Chinese provinces, containing 166,800 square miles. It comprises a large part of the upper basin of the Yang-tse-Kiang and the basins of four considerable affluents. It is almost encir-

cled with mountains, and on one side, the west, these mountains are snow-clad, forming part of the great Yungling system. But it has several large vales, and one magnificent valley, all of which are fairly inhabited.

The character of this extensive province varies so much that a single average applied to the whole would lose some of its significance. It would seem fair to take for one-fourth the Indian average of Mysore, generally mountainous, or 169 to the square mile, for one-fourth the average of the Bombay Deccan uplands, or 145 to the square mile, for one-fourth the average, or 249, of the Central Punjab (including the divisions of Lahore, Amritsar, and Rawul Pindee), and for one-fourth the average of the Punjab Native States in the Himalayas, 107, or of Assam, in the midst of mountains, 103.

This would give—

		Souls.
$\frac{1}{4}$ of Szechuen or 41,700 square miles at 169.....		7,047,300
$\frac{1}{4}$ " 145.....		6,046,500
$\frac{1}{4}$ " 249.....		10,383,300
$\frac{1}{4}$ " 103.....		4,295,100
		27,772,200

I must now summarise the estimates of population thus obtained as follows :—

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Province.	Area.	Population. Souls.	Average per Square Mile.
Pechili	67,270	18,120,100	269
Shantung.....	53,760	21,934,080	408
Kiangsu	40,130	20,265,650	505
Chekiang	35,660	8,201,800	230
Fukien	53,480	12,300,400	230
Kwantung	104,190	27,089,400	260
Honan	67,000	23,672,980	353
Hupi.....	70,450	24,891,980	353
Ganhwey	48,460	17,122,180	353
Hunan	83,000	14,608,000	176
Kiangsi	68,570	12,068,320	176
Kwangsi	78,250	9,077,000	116
Kweichow	64,550	6,067,700	94
Yunnan	122,420	9,671,180	79
Shansi	65,950	8,111,815	123
Shensi	81,190	9,986,370	123
Kansu	262,520	11,200,768	42
Szechuen	166,800*	27,772,200	166
Total	1,533,650	282,161,923	183

In round numbers, then, by an estimate formed upon known averages of India, the population of China proper would apparently amount to 282 mil-

* There are doubts regarding this area of Szechuen. It is set down by some at 220,000 square miles. If this be so, then an addition of perhaps eight millions might have to be made in this estimate of the population.

lions, with a general incidence of 183 to the square mile on an area of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of square miles. This estimate will bear comparison with the latest official returns obtained from China, according to the following table :—

Province.	Population according to Estimate from Indian Averages.	Average per Square Mile.	Population according to Official Returns.	Average per Square Mile.
Pechili.....	18,120,100	269	28,000,000	416
Shantung ...	21,934,080	408	29,000,000	540
Kiangsu	20,265,650	505	37,800,000	941
Chekiang ...	8,201,800	230	8,100,000	227
Fukien	12,300,400	230	14,800,000	276
Kwantung ...	27,089,400	260	19,200,000	184
Honan	23,672,980	353	23,000,000	343
Hupi	24,891,980	353	27,400,000	389
Ganhwey ...	17,122,180	353	34,200,000	705
Hunan.....	14,608,000	176	18,700,000	225
Kiangsi	12,068,320	176	23,000,000	335
Kwangsi	9,077,000	116	7,300,000	93
Kweichow ...	6,067,700	94	5,300,000	82
Yunnan	9,671,180	79	5,600,009	45
Shansi.....	8,111,815	123	14,000,000	212
Shensi.....	9,986,370	123	10,200,000	125
Kansu	11,200,768	42	9,285,377	35
Szechuen.....	27,772,200	166	35,000,000	210
Total ...	282,161,923	183	349,885,386	227

The general conclusion may be that the latest Chinese returns, though probably in excess of the reality, do not seem to be extravagant or incredible on the whole, if tested by the known averages of the Indian census. In three provinces only, Shantung, Kiangsu, and Ganhwey, do the Chinese returns seem excessive. In some provinces, on the other hand, the returns appear to be too low. The comparison between India and China proper is complete, as I have applied almost all the various averages of the Indian census.

There remains the question as to what may be the population of the Central Plateau mentioned in the beginning of this paper, including Mongolia, Tibet, Yarkand, Gobi, and other tracts. So much of that vast region is sterile, or desert, or impossible for human habitation, and the existing population congregated here and there in this enormous space is so scattered, that the known averages of India are not applicable. It is certain however that the population is relatively very inconsiderable. The outcome of the best estimates that can be formed by explorers and geographers is to the effect that the population may for the whole plateau amount to 15 millions.

If these 15 millions for the Central Plateau be added to the 282 millions shown above for China proper, then the grand total for the Chinese empire would be 297 millions of souls.

The examination of Chinese population statistics will become interesting in many respects, but more particularly in regard to the prevalent opinion that China is much the most populous empire in the world, and the followers of Buddhism* greatly outnumber those of any other religion. If the estimate presented in this paper be at all near the truth, then the population of the Chinese empire hardly exceeds that of the British empire; and the Buddhists according to that view would not exceed in number the Christians so considerably as is commonly supposed.

DISCUSSION ON SIR RICHARD TEMPLE'S PAPER.†

The President of the Statistical Society, Sir Rawson W. Rawson, said that before the discussion began he wished to read a note which Sir Rutherford Alcock published in the *Contemporary Review* in December 1880, in an article upon "China and its Foreign Relations." He regretted that Sir Rutherford's state of health prevented his being present at the meeting and taking part in the discussion, but the extract would show what were his

* If the Chinese are all Buddhists, which is disputed.

† A discussion took place on this paper at the Society's meeting. It is too long to be reproduced in its entirety here, but some of the most important passages in it are given.

views with regard to the credibility of the returns issued by Chinese authority.

“I have seen lately criticisms on the commonly assumed population of the Chinese empire. The Chinese are not without census returns, and, as to their trustworthiness, we may feel certain that, as there is always a question of poll-tax and military conscription in eastern countries, any error will not be on the side of exaggeration of actual numbers. No complete census of the empire appears to have been published since 1812—sixty-four years ago. But there are no less than twenty-one censuses on record since the year 1393 (the twenty-sixth of the reign of Hang-whan), besides several aggregate calculations by Chinese authors. Not to go further back than the censuses taken by the first emperor of the present dynasty in the eighteenth century, which were violently resisted by the Chinese, their object being to levy a poll-tax upon all men between the ages of 16 and 60, and to get at the actual number of those fit for the army, we may safely assume that no excess over actual numbers would be returned. This was in 1711; and the next was taken at the time of Kienlung in 1753, and fairly corresponds with that of the previous period, as Dr. Wells Williams, the author of ‘The Middle Kingdom,’ assures us, who examined the whole subject very closely. Then followed a census taken in 1792, the year before Lord Macartney’s embassy,

the result of which was given by the Commissioner Chau as 333 millions. Possibly he may have had motives of national pride or vanity for exaggerating. But Dr. Morrison gives the numbers of the census (the nineteenth), as recorded in Chinese works, at 307,467,200; while the census of 1812 is considered by both Drs. Morrison and Bridgeman, both competent sinologues, as 'the most accurate that has yet been given of the population.' And this places the number at 362,476,188. These data, if they cannot be relied upon in the same way as those taken in Europe at the present day, are at all events worth more than the 'guesses of foreigners who have never been in the country, or travelled in it only very partially.' Finally there are three other tests in support of the authenticity and trustworthiness of such returns.

"1. The highest population ascribed to China is not greater than the country can support, or than other countries can show. Thus the area of the eighteen provinces is 1,348,870 square miles, and the average population therefore to the whole in 1812 would be 268 to every square mile. According to M'Culloch, who also called in question the accuracy of the Chinese census, in the United Kingdom in 1831 there were 212 to the square mile; in Ireland, 249; in France in 1846, 223; in Lombardy in 1839, 260; in Belgium in 1836, 321; and in Lucca in 1839, 400.

2. "So as to the means of support. A report made to Kienlung in 1745 gives the area under cultivation at 595,598,221 acres, and a subsequent calculation places it at 640,570,221. This is about the same proportion as in England, or about two acres for the support of each individual; while in Ireland it is two persons to each acre, in France $1\frac{2}{3}$, in Holland $1\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre of cultivated land to each person.

3. "So again as to the rate of increase. Whether the starting point be the census taken about A.D. 1000, when the population was set down at 9,955,729, or that of 1711, there is nothing to throw doubt on the latest returns. From 1711 to 1753 the population increased 74,222,092, being a little more than 6 per cent. per annum for forty-two years, during which the southern provinces were brought into more complete subjugation; while from 1753 to 1792 the increase was only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum for thirty-nine years, and from 1792 to 1812 the increase was 54,126,679, or an annual advance of not quite 1 per cent. for twenty years. At the same rate the population at present would be over 450 millions; but no one has assumed this to be the number. From such an estimate, according to rate of increase, would have to be deducted the overflow of Chinese in all directions—to the Indian Archipelago, Australia, California, &c., a couple of millions; for the waste

of destructive civil wars, and two or more great famines, say 10 millions more; and we shall still have over 400 millions. If we compare the above rates of increase with those of countries in Europe, where the inhabitants are less prolific than in China, they will be found to be fully borne out."

After some preliminary remarks, the President, Sir Rawson W. Rawson, went on to say that Sir Richard's estimates, founded on averages derived from the census of the Indian population, were sometimes greater and sometimes less than the returns. The average difference of the whole is twenty-four less. The paper afforded a guide which might lead them to a correct conclusion, and he hoped that somebody who took an interest in the question would consider the subject, for during the two days since he had received Sir Richard Temple's paper he had found that it was one of very great interest, and one which might be very usefully examined by any one who had the time and the leisure to devote to it.

Professor Douglas (British Museum) said he did not place so much faith in the Chinese census as Sir Rutherford Alcock was inclined to do. He regarded the censuses taken by the Chinese Government as untrustworthy, and he agreed with Sir

Richard Temple in thinking that the only plan for getting at anything like an approximate idea of the population of China was by the comparative method. Sir Rutherford Alcock had mentioned two censuses taken in the years 1711 and 1753. The first was taken for the purpose of levying a poll-tax and establishing a system of conscription, and on that occasion the returning officers gave the whole population of China as being about 28 millions. In 1753 another census was taken to form the basis of a system of relief to be granted in cases of emergency, and the returns then swelled to a total of 103 millions, the difference between the two censuses being something like 75 millions. He merely mentioned that as an instance of the untrustworthiness of Chinese censuses. Orientals as a rule took no interest in statistics, they never really troubled themselves about them, and they did not the least understand their value. Such a Society as the Statistical Society would have no *locus standi* whatever among them. If a conscientious official in China desired to make an authentic return on any statistical subject, he would have the greatest difficulties thrown in his way. Not long since, Mr. Baber (a known authority upon China) told a story at the Geographical Society of a certain Chinese prefect who was ordered to make a return of the population of his prefecture. He carefully

appointed deputies for the work, and among them sent two to take the census of a certain city, at the same time adopting means to prevent their holding any communication one with another, in order to insure a truthful return. On the completion of the work the two officers presented returns that were so completely divergent, that the prefect concluded they had been based simply on guess-work, and handed the two deputies over to the governor of the province for punishment. Again he sent two others, who, more cunning than their predecessors, succeeded in communicating with one another, and agreed to return identical numbers, viz., 20,401. This identity suggested as grave doubts in the mind of the prefect as the divergence of the earlier return had done, and he therefore took one of the deputies aside and said, "you say the population in the city is 20,401, now which was the one, a man or a woman?" The officer was so startled at the unexpected question that he acknowledged the fraud, and he with his fellow-offender was also forwarded for punishment. But the prefect, being determined not to be beaten, decided to go himself. Meanwhile the people of the city had become so alarmed at the repeated arrival of deputies, and the intended arrival of the prefect, that on the news of his approach they left the city in a body and hid themselves in the fields. The prefect on entering the city found it therefore empty, and in despair at the result of his pertinacity

he hung himself at the city gate, clenching in his hand the following return: "Wuming hiem. Men none; women none; children under 14 none; total none." But, though a comparative method such as Sir Richard Temple had adopted might lead to an approximate estimate of the population, it could after all be only the merest approximation, since in a country such as China large districts were repeatedly subject to depopulation from famine, flood, war, and pestilence. About eight or ten years ago in the provinces of Shansi and Shensi there was a famine which was said at the time, and he believed with some accuracy, to have swept off 9 million souls. That was an instance of the kind of processes that were constantly going on in different parts of the huge empire of China. In speaking of Shansi and Shensi Sir Richard Temple seemed to treat them rather too much as though they were mountainous provinces and nothing more, but as a matter of fact they were agriculturally very rich provinces. They were covered, as were also a great part of the province of Kansu and the northern part of Honan, with a deposit of loess, extending to a depth of from 50 to 200 feet. Loess was a light friable soil of a yellowish colour, and it was from the colour imparted to the waters of the Yellow river by the loess, through which it ran, that it derived its name. It was so porous that water percolated through it with the greatest ease. The

consequence was that throughout the whole district the water was considerably below the level of the surrounding country. One of the peculiarities of loess was that its cleavage was invariably vertical, the result being that the banks of the rivers which traversed it rose perpendicularly on either side, making travelling dangerous and road-making difficult. On the other hand, these formations served the useful purpose of affording cave-dwellings for the people, and were bored like rabbit-warrens. The surface of the loess was fertile to a degree; the farmer had but to scratch the soil and throw in his seed, and in good seasons when rain was frequent and temperate he was rewarded with abundant crops. In dry seasons however, when there was no rain to moisten the ground and fertilise the seed, the light-surfaced soil was easily blown away, and the grain, exposed to sun and cold, failed to germinate. This was the cause of the many dreadful famines that had taken place in the loess country. Sir Richard Temple had estimated the population per square mile of Pechili above that of Kwantung. He (Professor Douglas) had been in both provinces, and he thought there could be no doubt whatever that the population of Kwantung was much denser than that of Pechili. The deltas of the rivers in Kwantung were exceedingly rich, and the population was large in proportion. On the other hand the delta of the Peiho was very poor, and largely impregnated with

salt, so much so that for miles from the sea nothing, not even grass, would grow; it was merely a mud flat. Further inland wheat, millet, &c., were grown, but the delta was certainly not a rich one. To the province of Kweichow Sir Richard Temple gave a larger estimate than the Chinese, but he (Professor Douglas) thought the Chinese were right. Kweichow was an exceptional province; the climate was very unhealthy; the water was very bad; and the Chinese avoided it as much as possible. It was very mountainous, and was mainly inhabited by Miao-toze tribes. The Chinese population was very small, and would remain so as long as the conditions continued as they were. He thought Sir Richard Temple had made a mistake with regard to the area of Szechuen. In estimating the areas of some if not all of the other provinces he had given them in statute square miles, whereas in the case of this province he had reckoned by geographical square miles. He (Professor Douglas) believed that the area of the province was 220,000 statute square miles instead of 168,800, and then the larger population estimate of the Chinese would be justified by Sir Richard Temple's calculations. He thought Sir Richard Temple was nearly right about the population of Yunnan. It was one of those unfortunate portions of the empire that had been more than decimated by rebellions and wars. Only a few years ago the Panthay rebels destroyed

and depopulated whole districts of the province ; but such was the recuperative power of the inhabitants, that already it was recovering from their ravages. Both agriculturally and as a metalliferous region it was extremely rich, and was capable of sustaining a very much larger population than it now possessed. But unfortunately it had little or no outlet for its produce. Englishmen had tried to reach it from Burma, and the French had tried to do so from Tonquin ; but both attempts had failed. Within the last few days however Mr. Colquhoun the traveller had pointed out that the true trade route to that and to the other south-western provinces of China was by way of the Shan States to the north of Siam, and had shown that there were neither political nor physical difficulties to prevent a railway being laid through the plains of Siam and the Shan States to the frontiers of China. This was an old road, and was well known as the golden road, from the fact that the wealthy Chinese traders passed along it into Siam. The towns through which it passed were rich and populous, and it was essentially a route which in the interests of the commerce of the world should be opened to all comers. If England did not lead the way in this enterprise, France would, and the result would be that in Tonquin and Cambodia French goods would be admitted on conditions which would make competition with them impossible. He was quite certain

that the opening of the route to foreign commerce would give such an impetus to the trade of Yunnan that the population of that province would very speedily be doubled, trebled, and quadrupled.

Sir Richard Temple said his figures for the Chinese returns were taken from the *Statesman's Year Book*, and were declared by Mr. Keltie to be derived from the most recent official returns in China.

Mr. J. B. Martin said it was well known that the best census returns were subject to a considerable amount of error within limits, but the facts stated by Professor Douglas showed that in this respect the extremes of east and west met. Perhaps there was no country where census statistics were taken with such elaborate care as in the United States. Americans were nothing if they did not do things on a large scale, and every township and city was interested in making its return as large as possible, partly from rivalry with its neighbours, and partly from the fact that the number of representatives in the legislature depended on the population. The census returns had therefore been sometimes regarded with a certain amount of doubt. He mentioned this to show that in accepting census returns the motives for which they were collected must always be taken into account. Whatever might be the population per square mile in China, the question was how far it pressed on the means of subsistence. Did the people eat rats, and cats, and dogs,

and mice because they liked them, or because they had nothing else to eat? He regarded the question of Chinese emigration as one of the utmost importance, and within a generation or two it must command very great attention. The United States had found it a very burning question, and seemed to have made up their minds that they would not admit Chinamen. In the Australian Colonies there was a very strong expression of feeling to the same effect; but he did not think the Chinamen would be kept out in the end by any restrictions which might be imposed.

The President, Sir Rawson W. Rawson, said that he would only make a few observations. Sir Richard Temple had not gone beyond his original intention, which was to estimate the population of China by the population of India. But there was one thing to which he particularly desired to call attention. Under any circumstances he thought they were justified in giving China a larger population than many persons were disposed to admit. The United States minister had recently mentioned 250 millions as the probable population; while Sir Richard Temple calculated it at 282 millions, and did not think the latest official returns of 350 millions were extravagant. The discussion had been confined to China proper, and had not referred to Manchooria, Mongolia, or Thibet. * * * Sir John Bowring rather agreed with Sir Rutherford Alcock that

a certain amount of credit must be allowed to the Chinese estimates. The latest Chinese return was for 1812, or seventy-three years ago. * * * Taking the census of 1762, when it was stated at only 198 millions, and adding 1 per cent. for one hundred years, the number would be about 400 millions. In the United Kingdom there were about 300 souls to the square mile, and that rate would give 460 millions for China. Taking the average of British territory in India as 201 to the square mile, it would give 302 millions for China. Holland had 330 souls to the square mile, at which rate China would have 506 millions. In Barbados the last census gave 1,033 to a square mile, and they were not crowded as in China; they did not eat dogs, cats, rats, and mice, and did not live upon rivers. Sir John Bowring wrote: "The enormous river population of China who live only in boats, who are born and educated, who marry, rear their families, and die, who, in a word, begin and end their existence on the water, and never have a dream of any shelter other than the roof, and who seldom tread except on the deck and boards of their sampans, show to what an extent the land is crowded, and how inadequate it is to maintain the cumberers of the soil. In the city of Canton alone it is estimated that 300,000 persons dwell upon the surface of the river, the boats, sometimes twenty or thirty deep, cover some miles, and

have their wants supplied by ambulatory salesmen, who wend their way through every accessible passage." That would give an idea of the crowding of the population of China. * * * The great advantage of Sir Richard Temple's paper was that it showed by a comparison with India a minimum, and it was to be hoped that some one who had sufficient time would take up the subject. He offered to Sir Richard Temple, on behalf of the meeting, their thanks for his valuable paper.

Sir Richard Temple, in reply, said there was a large river population in India as well as in China, and he had applied the averages to districts similarly situated. With regard to the food of the Chinese, he would rather like some modern authority to verify the statements which were commonly accepted. No doubt the Chinese did eat many extraordinary things, but that was probably not from want of other food. Mr. Martin had referred to Chinese emigration, but that was a subject beyond the scope of the paper. It should be remembered that only the men emigrated as a rule. The great objection that the Californian Americans urged against the Chinese was that they did not bring their wives and families with them, and always intended to return to their own country, so that it was impossible for them to become responsible citizens. That was one reason, probably, why all American moralists, so greatly objected to

having the Chinese in their midst. He was glad to find that Mr. Douglas thoroughly appreciated the scientific character of the test which had been applied in the paper. No Englishman had ever administered Government over a large number of Chinese, so that it was impossible to tell exactly how they would turn out ; but the character of Indians was well known. Asiatics were decidedly un-statistical as well as un-mechanical, and there was not the slightest chance of a Chinese census being worth the paper it was written upon, unless it was carefully supervised by Europeans. He had endeavoured to supply the means by which every one might judge for himself, and the only possibility of error was in the account he had given of the Chinese provinces. No living Englishman was competent to say with entire precision what the character of the interior of China was, and therefore the only question was as to whether his diagnosis of the different provinces of China was correct or not. There was a margin for mistake in that particular respect only, but if he was right on that point his averages gave useful results. With respect to the averages of particular countries alluded to by the President, those were limited areas, and statistically it was not scientific to apply to vast areas averages drawn from small areas. The average of Europe per square mile was very inconsiderable compared with the average of England or Belgium, or any

other highly-populated country. The moment a large area was taken, high mountains and barren regions must be included in which the population was very sparse. He felt there might be some doubt about his description of Shansi and Shensi. Professor Douglas considered that they were agriculturally rich, because the soil was very fertile; but he did not think that it necessarily followed that because a country was fertile therefore it was well-peopled; and he believed that his description of those provinces was not far from the truth—that there were parts highly cultivated and other parts that were not. One great reason for the reduction he had made in the Chinese return with regard to Pechili was that the whole of that province was not deltaic, a large part being mountainous. Moreover, the delta was not quite so rich as was commonly supposed. No doubt Kiangsu was very rich and populous, but he had taken an average of 505 per square mile, and surely that was a high figure for a large province. Could any scientific assembly believe the average which the Chinese return gave of 941 to the square mile? It was quite true that Honan, Hupi, and Ganhwey were rich provinces, but was it not the fact that there was a good deal of mountainous region in them? Errors arose because people only thought of the very rich tracts; but the whole area should be taken as known to geographers. With regard to Yunnan, where his

calculation was in excess of the Chinese return, he considered that he had taken a low average. He had endeavoured to apply a scientific test to Chinese statistics, and that was worth much more than the so-called facts of Chinese authority. In fine, it were vain, in his view, to cite Chinese authority for statistics. He proceeded on the assumption that all such authority had been discredited. Therefore he had applied a different test, regarding the value of which a society of experts like the Statistical Society would be able to judge for itself.

CHAPTER XII.

THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER.*

Progress of Russia in Central Asia—Afghan boundary on map in Lord Mayo's time—Line from Serakhs to Khwāja Sâla on the Oxus—Position of Russia in that quarter at the time—Her base on the Caspian—England's proposal to demarcate Afghan boundary-line—Proceedings of Russia thereupon—Turkoman tribes on both sides of the line—Russian movements on Panjdeh and Zulfikar—Importance of these two positions—Significance of Russia's advance—Her vantage grounds along the Afghan frontier—Her strategic points on the Oxus, the Murghab, and the Hari-rûd—Her possible railway across the Turkoman Steppes—Her approach to Herat—Objects of British policy in consequence—Standpoint at Herat as first line of defence—Crossing of the Helmand—Value of Candahar as second line of defence—Lord Lytton and the railway from the Indus towards Pishin and Quetta—Third line of defence hereabouts—Attitude of British India.

I HAVE by appointment to address you on a subject which is now most grave and emergent, and will

* Speech delivered before St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, at its house-gathering, on 24th March, 1885.

continue to be momentous in the future, namely, the Russo-Afghan Frontier. I do not stop now to discuss the reasons why Russia is persistently causing us trouble in that quarter. But it were instructive to recount the steps or rather strides of her progress in Central Asia within this generation. The tendency of these events has long been foreseen and declared by many Englishmen who knew the country and were acquainted with the diplomatic moves that had taken place. England must judge whether these manifold warnings have been duly regarded or not. At all events, that which has long been predicted is coming to pass. Wolf, wolf, has been repeatedly cried; at last the wolf is come and is at our gates! There is no time for recrimination as to whether we ought ever to have allowed this to happen. It has happened and we must face the fact. We must measure its consequences and prepare to meet them.

Let us first consider what has occurred. In 1870, when Lord Mayo was Governor-General of India, the outcome of anxious discussion between England and Russia respecting Central Asia was this, that a limit should in general terms be fixed between Afghanistan and Turkomania; that is, between those tribes which owed allegiance to the Amir of Afghanistan on the one hand, and those Turkoman tribes on the other hand who obeyed no ruler at all at that time. On our British side the

object was to mark off the Afghan territory—which Russia acknowledged to be beyond the sphere of her political operations—and to prevent any confusion between the Amir's subjects and the Turkoman tribes, who, being lawless or masterless, might perhaps fall under the Russian sway. Sir Henry Durand, one of the first political authorities of the day, was then a member of Lord Mayo's Government, and so was I. Well: a line was proposed from Serakhs on the Persian frontier to be drawn straight across a region, more or less desert, to Khwâja Sâla, on the Oxus. This was clearly marked on the official maps; and to that Russia agreed. There is no doubt as to this virtual agreement, and it was accepted by the British as a tolerable solution of one part in a large and complicated problem. The charts with the line marked on them have since been always open to universal inspection. Serakhs and Khwâja Sâla are well-known points, and a line running straight between them is unmistakeable. The country, being mainly flat and unenclosed, admitted of the line being drawn with straightness. The transactions and the correspondence will all be found in the blue books of that year regarding Central Asia.

The case was so clear, the Russian outposts were then so remote, the Russian good faith was so concerned in the matter, that no reason, not even a pretext, for distrust seemed possible. So no actual

delimitation took place, that is, no boundary pillars were set up on the ground in accordance with the map. Thus the agitation slept for a while, that is, for several years. At that time, it is to be remembered, Russia had advanced but little beyond the Caspian; the Persian frontier had not been interfered with; Merve was still independent; no Russian outpost had been seen near Serakhs; the Turkoman tribes acknowledged no sovereign.

But soon Russia began to move from her base on the Caspian; a railway was laid thence to Kizl Arvat, a situation commanding part of Turkomania; the Attrek districts on the Persian frontier were in part portioned off to Russia; the country near Merve after hard fighting was subdued by Skobeleff; Russian outposts were planted *vis-à-vis* to Serakhs; and the Turkoman tribes *en masse* were submitting to the Czar. Then England thought it high time that the boundary line between Sarakhs and Khwâja Sâla should be demarcated. Not that there was then any doubt as to Russian loyalty to the agreement; but, with wandering tribes or nomad families frequently crossing and recrossing the border, it was but prudent to have a formal delimitation by means of boundary pillars. Accordingly England proposed that this should be done, and Russia at first unreservedly assented. The operation was to be conducted by Special Commissioners on both sides, who were to proceed to the spot and to meet at or

near the line. On the British side an officer of high rank and qualifications, Sir Peter Lumsden, was named, and started for the place in the autumn of 1884, with the full knowledge of the Russian Government. On the other hand the Russian Commissioner was nominated, and no doubt was entertained in England that he would reach the line about the same time with Sir Peter Lumsden. When, however, Lumsden reached the interior of Afghanistan and was approaching the line he could hear nothing of his Russian colleague. This led to interpellations from England, and Russia made some excuses, saying that her Commissioner had been learning his instructions but would soon be there. No serious inference was drawn from the delay. Many weeks however elapsed, and no Russian Commissioner appeared; at last England waxed impatient. Then by degrees the Russian proceedings transpired. It came out that there was a reason for the delay, namely this, that Russia had been diligently employing the interval in moving troops across the line, in passing full eighty miles inside the Afghan territory, and in moving upon two strategic points commanding the two main communications from the Caspian and Turkomania into the heart of Afghanistan! Interpellations being instantly renewed, Russia said that she had been making her own inquiries on the line and beyond it, that she found the relatives of her

Turkomans settled across the line, that she would like to include them in her dominions, that she would not join England in demarcation or delimitation until some principle should be settled for a revision of the boundary, and that an agent of hers, M. Lessar, would proceed to London to explain matters to the English Government!

Of course this affair is dealt with in a considerable correspondence. I have given only a summary, which I believe to comprise the real substance. Those who advocate the Russian claim will urge something in reply to the effect that the map was defective, that the line was imperfectly described, that the Amir had not exercised effective sovereignty over the tracts on his side the line where the Russians have recently advanced, and so on. But these arguments may be rejected. And Russia must be prepared to hear many Englishmen say that she gained a march on us in the dark.

Again it will be alleged that some of the inhabitants on the Afghan side the line are related to the Turkoman tribes on the Russian side, and that therefore Russia ought to have dominion over these inhabitants. In fact the relationship or kinship is remote rather than near. But, suppose the relationship to exist as alleged, why should the fact be turned solely in favour of Russia? Surely the counter-argument might be adduced, namely, that, inasmuch as some of the Turkomans on the other

side are related to these inhabitants who are Afghan subjects (under the British protecting wing), therefore those Turkomans ought to be Afghan subjects also. Russia would be surprised if the logical tables were thus turned upon her. But really one argument is just as good as the other. These two are as the obverse and the reverse of the same coin.

Or further, if Russia by advancing beyond her line had been merely hunting up some stray Turkomans allied to her own people, and had half-inadvertently transgressed in a region wild, desolate, without any clearly visible landmark—or if Cossack borderers careering about in the desert had exceeded their limits—the case, though not justifiable, might have been venial. But not so; indeed there is a dread method in the madness of this advance. For Russia, having once transgressed, went on moving straightway and directly to two particular points. You will see instantly from the nature of these points that they were the real objects of this movement.

For what are these two points? They are Panjdeh and Zulfikar. Now Panjdeh commands the main line of communication from the Caspian, leaving Merve slightly on the left. It is situated near the point where the road bifurcates, one fork going to Herat, the other to Maimena and Balkh. It is about 150 miles from Herat; a low mountain range intervenes, with a pass sufficiently good for military purposes, but in some degree defensible.

It is thus the most important locality on the western or north-western border of Afghanistan. An enemy master of it could threaten two parts of the country simultaneously. Zulfikar is on the road between Serakhs and Herat, in the valley of the Harirud river. That road is comparatively flat and easy. In it there is but one defensible position where an enemy could be stopped in his advance. This point is Zulfikar, the very place which Russia is occupying. If she be permitted to retain that, then the straightest road to Herat is at her mercy, and there would be no means of stopping her till she got to Herat itself. The distance between Zulfikar and Herat is under 100 miles. Thus Russia has deliberately marched straight upon two strategic points of the first moment within Afghan territory. Her two positions thus taken up distinctly menace Herat, and are designed to be preparatory to a possible advance into the heart of Afghanistan. Such an advance could have had but one object, namely, the embarrassment of England in the event of her relations with Russia being strained by reason of events in South-Eastern Europe or Asia Minor.

Once more, had Russia remained on the line between Serakhs and Khwâja Sâla, there would have been but scanty means of forming a military base in an inhospitable country for a further advance. And her advance would have been for some

distance impeded by deficiency of water in a dry and thirsty belt of country. But by advancing to Panjdeh she has reached the neighbourhood of the Murghab river, and has touched the spurs of hills of which the top ranges supply moisture. She has thus got possession of a water supply where she can make herself comfortable, and where she can at leisure organise a base for further advance.

The Russian agents are saying, after their wont, Why quarrel with us about these wretched places, which at the best are but poverty-stricken? In fact the places may be comparatively poor at present; but their capabilities are great, and their strategic value is undoubted. They must be important, otherwise Russia would not have taken such extraordinary measures to attain them, nor would she have incurred the risk of a war with England.

She must know that ere this many a nation has had war declared against it for faults lighter than the fault above described. In fact England is already arming rapidly, and military preparations on the British side, both in Asia and in Europe, are impending. What the issue of such preparations may be, no man can at present say.

At this moment the Russian forces at Panjdeh and Zulfikar are, according to the latest advice, very small. But they can be rapidly augmented; and that they will be so augmented we may but too certainly anticipate. Of course Russia ought to be

required to go back to the line between Serakhs and Khwāja Sâla, whence she came. But in these remote localities possession is hard to be disturbed. There she is at Panjdeh and Zulfikar, and there she will, I fear, remain. We may wring some concessions out of her in detail, but they will not amount to much. She has seized her vantage ground, and her eviction will be difficult. *Fieri non debuit, factum valeat.* I apprehend that nothing remains to us but to adopt counteracting or precautionary measures. And to these I will now advert.

Let us first, however, review the position which Russia has at length reached. She has now succeeded in troubling the whole of the northern and western frontier of Afghanistan, except that piece which adjoins Persia and alone remains untroubled. Seizing advantage of England's dire pre-occupation in the war of the Indian mutinies of 1857, she subjugated Kokand and Bokhara. Later on she dealt similarly with Khiva, on the mouth of the Oxus on the Aral Sea. It was understood that these movements of hers were but preliminary to some movement upon the Oxus in the neighbourhood of Balkh on the line which has been the military road to Cabul from the days of Alexander the Great and subsequent invaders. Accordingly soon after 1860 she began to feel her way to the Oxus. By 1864, when John Lawrence was Governor-General, her pioneers and avant-couriers were heard of on the

north bank of the Oxus. Shortly afterwards she began to interfere with Budakshan and with Wakhan, a mountainous region near the Pamir steppe, the source of the Oxus and the "Roof of the World." This enterprise of hers in the most inhospitable part of Asia was not quixotic, but was devised for touching the British Himalayan frontier in the direction of Cashmir. However, in the time of Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook (Governors-General) she was checked, or permitted herself to be checked, gently, behaving on this occasion with more self-denial than usual. The British argument with her was this, that the Oxus inside the Himalayan ranges, and outside them on the Central Asian plain, was to be the Afghan frontier. But, not content with advancing up to the northern bank of that river, she evinced a desire to cross the water and proceed to the northern slopes of the Indian Caucasus, bringing Balkh under her sway, and touching the mountain passes right over Caubul. Her political agents, under the guise of scientific travellers, actually "prospected" this region—the ancient Bactria. This was about the most comprehensive claim she had yet preferred; it was with difficulty repressed; whether it is really extinguished no man can say until her next opportunity shall arise. Then in 1877-8 she despatched an envoy to the Amir of Caubul, Shere Ali, despite such international comity as might be presumed to subsist between her and England,

despite, too, her own declarations of non-intervention in Afghanistan. This embassy was the immediately provoking cause of the second Afghan war in 1878.

Up to this time the anxiety of England referred mainly to the northern line of approach by Caubul—but already there were many ominous symptoms on the western line of approach from the Caspian by Herat and Candahar. Then followed the train of events which I have briefly recounted on that line. It is now manifest that the principal advance is to be, not by the northern approach but by the western. A diversion, a feint, a subsidiary attack, there may be by the north towards Caubul, but the main attack would be delivered on the west towards Herat. This is the policy on which Russia has now settled for the present. She may of course change her tactics once more. But geographical research, British as well as Russian, shows that this western line is clearly the most suitable for aggressive purposes. Formerly the Turkoman deserts and steppes were deemed almost impassable for armies. But though difficult, they are found to be comparatively passable, especially with railways, for the construction of which the flat steppes offer engineering facilities. As regards the levels of the ground a railway can be easily made to that very Panjdeh which we are thinking of. It is indeed in course of construction already, and will be completed in due time. More-

over, this western line starts from the Caspian, which has become a centre for military movements between Russia in Europe and Russia in Asia. From Moscow there is communication by rail to Petrofsk, north of Derbend, on the western shore of the Caspian. Then there is communication by steamers to Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian, and thence there is again a railway to the heart of Turkomania, which will doubtless be extended ultimately to somewhere near Panjdeh. Or, as an alternative, the railway might be taken to Serakhs and thence by the Harirud Valley to Zulfikar; and perhaps from an engineering point of view this might be the best line. The decision will depend on the selection by Russia of one of the two lines as the fittest for her strategy and politics—that to Panjdeh or that to Zulfikar.

The sum total is this, that in any case we shall soon see Russia on the Afghan border in force within 100 miles of Herat, seated on a good military base close to that border, with a sufficient military road in her rear to the military basis on the Caspian, the said road being already in part superseded by a railway and likely to be so superseded throughout ere long. This is the end of a long-sustained series of manœuvres, diplomatic, political, strategic, on the part of Russia. We may feel indignation, regret, or other sentiments of that kind; but it is too late for such feelings now; if they perforce

arise they had better be cast aside as vain and out of date. We have sterner work before us, for which we must brace our wills, our energies, our intellects.

The instant and constant question then is what should England now do under these grave and perilous circumstances?

In the first place, can the Herat frontier be guarded, or could an invasion be stopped there *in limine*? Possibly it could on the mountain range near Panjdeh. Also, if the Zulfikar pass shall be retained under the Afghans, that might be made a sort of Thermopylæ with defenders of a Spartan temper. But, inasmuch as British troops could not be sent to so great a distance, and as the border would have to be defended by Afghan troops, it is not to be seriously expected that Russia could be stopped there. If at war with England, she could undoubtedly appear in arms before Herat. Then comes the question of defending Herat by the Afghans with British guidance and support, but not with British troops, for these troops could never be sent so far from their Indian base. Would the Afghans then do their utmost? Probably, yes; if England promised to stand by them to the last. They were once bitter enemies, as we know to our heavy cost, but then they thought we meant to take their country from them. In this case they would regard the Russians as their invaders, and us as their de-

fenders. As they are good haters of those who are against them, so they are good friends of those who are for them. If by a consistent course and by loyal conduct we had convinced them of our friendship and had satisfied them of our determination to respect, and if necessary to maintain, their independence,—they would be heartily on our side as against Russia. Then, if we bade them to hold out in Herat to the last, they would try to do so. But they would expect all the aid we could give them there, excepting always British troops. We could send them engineers to show them how to set the fortifications in order, some artillery instructors and some ordnance, also some political officers who would be acceptable to Afghan susceptibilities. When one thinks of what Eldred Pottinger did at Herat in 1837-8, successfully defending the place with Afghans alone against a large force of Persians aided by Russians; of Williams heroically holding out in Kars; of Plevna for months defying the pick of the Russian army—one does feel a hope, that, if hereafter occasion shall arise, there will be once more a superb defence of Herat by Afghans under the guiding star of some British officer, checking for weeks or months the Russian advance! The invaders would hardly choose to move on towards Candahar, with Herat in their rear un-taken. They would regard the capture of Herat as obligatory, and would sit down before it. While the siege was

protracted, Russia would be at war with England everywhere; the methods of 1854 might be repeated, and British ironclads might be thundering in the Baltic, in the Black Sea, and in the North Pacific waters. The spectacle of Russia checked at Herat, and pressed sorely by England in several quarters nearer home, would have a moral effect on all Asia.

It will immediately be asked whether the fortifications of Herat would stand first-rate modern artillery? Probably not; but then artillery of the highest calibre could not well be transported thither from Russia. Meanwhile the walls could be made capable of withstanding ordinary artillery such as the Russians now possess. These walls, with their bastions and towers, have been heretofore regarded as impregnable by ordinary resources. Still, modern gunnery has altered greatly the value of massive masonry. But the Afghan earth is of the nature to offer stout resistance, and a mass of earthwork could be thrown up against the walls, and into it the cannon-shot would plunge harmlessly. Nor is the city—as is often the case with Oriental fortresses—so placed amidst heights as to be commanded all round. There is but one vantage ground, or rather two points lying contiguously, of this nature. They must be fortified and held in force, if Herat is to be held against a civilized enemy. Precautions to this effect should be adopted, if indeed they have

not already been taken. Thus Herat constitutes the first line of British-Afghan defence.

After Herat, the next point would be Gerishk at the crossing of the Helmand. The passage of such a river, if resisted, might be difficult for the invaders, and at all events they might be checked and detained. Still, if they had succeeded in reducing Herat, and were advancing in force, they would not be permanently stopped till they reached Candahar.

Now Candahar has a political situation of almost unique excellence. It is on the high road from Herat, either to Caubul or to India by the Bolan. By it every one must pass. Facing westwards, it has its right on the road to Ghuzni and Caubul, and its left on the elbow of the desert, where it cannot possibly be turned or outflanked. In its rear are the ways to several passes through the Suleman or the Bolan mountains to India. The principal of these is the Bolan Pass, but there are others also. And an invader could not approach any of them without first forcing Candahar. The city is fortified, of course; and it cannot be commanded from any neighbouring heights. It cannot be approached from the west without crossing the Argandab river. It is in the midst of splendid garden-cultivation, and has abundance of supplies and resources. It is about 90 miles—say less than a week's march—from the new British frontier in Pishin, near Quetta. This frontier is on the Khwāja Amrân range,

whence to Candahar the road is comparatively level and easy. It is to be remembered that we shall soon have a railway from the Indus up to Pishin. Here, then, at Candahar, is our second line of defence, and a capital one it is if we choose to make it so. Whether its defence should be entrusted to the Afghans—as the defence of Herat—under British guidance, or whether it should be undertaken by British troops in conjunction with the Afghans, would be a question for decision according to the policy and strategy of the time. But if, in conjunction with the Afghans, England determined to make her stand at Candahar with her own troops against the Russian advance, she could do so perfectly well; as her communications with India in her rear would be complete. If England were to elect to join battle decisively there for the Eastern Empire, then she would fight under conditions more favourable to her than to Russia. Then victory will incline to that side which has the best soldiers. And, if our men shall be then as they were at Alma and at Inkerman, not one of us now living will permit himself for a moment to doubt the result!

Probably, too, for the sake of India, it would be more politic (if military considerations permitted) to give battle at some point beyond our own proper frontier rather than on the frontier itself. The spectacle of a deadly contest close at their gates would stir profoundly the vast Indian population;

and the spread of education renders the Indians more and more susceptible of these emotions. From this point of view it were better far to wage the fight out of their range of vision; so that they should only hear of our enemy, and not behold him face to face. It is difficult to enter fully on a topic like this, but enough has been said to indicate the drift of the argument.

I now come to the third and last line of defence on the British frontier itself. In regard thereto, I must ask you to turn your gaze back to the Indus, the river barrier in the rear of that frontier. Let us think of what has been done on its banks from India and onwards to Pishin on the Candahar border.

In 1879, when the tidings came of the destruction of the British Embassy at Caubul, the Afghan crisis was acute. Lord Lytton was then Governor-General, and he neither flinched nor shrank from dealing with the emergency, so as not only to retrieve the disaster, but to turn it into an occasion for still further strengthening the British interests in Afghanistan. Among the several measures which he then with all his energy, promptitude, and resolution ordered to be undertaken, there was one which affects our discourse to-night, namely, the construction of a railway from the Indus to the foot of the Bolan Pass. I was myself placed in the general command of this operation, and within a

very few months the line was carried across a broad expanse of desert to the foot of the mountains near Sibi, and was opened for military traffic from the very beginning of 1880. Lord Lytton's wise intention was to carry the line from Sibi up the mountains that flank the elevated plateau of Pishin to the Khwāja Amrān range, leaving Quetta a few miles on the left, but with a short branch to Quetta itself. From Pishin the line was ultimately to be extended to Candahar. By the end of 1881 the railway was to be carried close up to the Pishin-Candahar border, within an easy week's march of Candahar, with its strategic position as just described. But "*dis aliter visum*"; the spring of 1880 saw a general election in England and a transfer of power from one great Party to the other. The extension from Sibi to Pishin was given up, and the operations already begun were suspended. The following year, 1881, saw the relinquishment of Candahar by the British garrison. Afterwards, in 1883-4, when the subjugation of the Turkomans by Russia became known, and her advance to the Herat border was foreseen, the English Government resumed the project of railway extension from Sibi to Pishin, and is now proceeding with it vigorously. We may regret the time that has been lost, but the Government may yet redeem it. And we may look forward confidently to railway communication from the Indus to the border

of southern Afghanistan. At any point then in this quarter, England may, if so minded, make her stand, as on her third and final line of defence.*

Meanwhile, India is happily loyal. In time of peace the Indians will complain and cavil, will clamour for improvements—some of which may be wisely granted. In time of danger they will ponder on the consequences of revolution. They will be for England *a l'outrance* as against any other power. Our policy should be so to conciliate native regard, so to foster native progress, that when at the moment of trial India shall be weighed in the balance of empire she may not be found wanting.

* I have not alluded in this speech to what is called "the scientific frontier," because that is an ambiguous phrase which, if followed out, might lead us to embarrassing conclusions. An English statesman, indeed, once said that our frontier is in parts unscientific. That may be so, but it does not thence follow that we are to be in quest of a scientific frontier. The central Himalaya is indeed a perfect frontier of itself, but then it is a frontier against nothing in particular, for there is no Power of importance immediately on the other side of it. The western Himalaya, or the Indian Caucasus, is a frontier for Cabul as against Russia. On that line the Khyber near Peshawur is a very defensible frontier for England; so is the pass at the end of the Kurram Valley. Further south the Suleman range gives a straightly marked frontier for several hundred miles, partly but not wholly defensibly. To the south of that again, the frontier is of the nature described in this essay.

CHAPTER XIII.

GREECE IN 1885.

Reasons for travelling in Greece—Antiquities and ruins—Scenery and associations—Classical education—Example of Attica—Christopher Wordsworth's sentiment—The season for touring—Coasting steamers—New railways—Marching for equestrians and pedestrians—Cessation of brigandage—Political affairs—The general election—The Tricoupis ministry—Parties, policies, and principles—Taxation and finance—The meaning of Hellenism—The Greek Church—Modern Greek language—National unity—Freedom collectively and individually—Public credit—Territorial extension—Attitude of Greece towards Crete, Epirus, and Salonica—Annexation of Thessaly—Army of Greece—The judicial executive and fiscal establishments—National education—Public works.

When riseth Lacedæmon's hardihood,
 When Thebes Epaminondas rears again,
 When Athens' children are with hearts endued,
 When Grecian mothers shall give birth to men,
 Then may'st thou be restored; but not till then.
 A thousand years scarce serve to form a State;
 An hour may lay it in the dust : and when
 Can man its shatter'd splendour renovate,
 Recall its virtues back, and vanquish Time and Fate?—

Childe Harold.

By the following extracts from my journal in Greece some description will be offered, not of

Hellas in her glorious and deathless existence, but of the Hellenic nationality as it appeared in the Spring of 1885, such a description as can be comprised in a brief and practical essay. To attempt more than this, very limited task, would be beyond the scope of my essay.

In these days of rapid travelling a cultured Englishman may well inquire, What is to be seen in Greece, and for what should a traveller resort thither?

Should he go there for the sake of seeing antiquarian remains and the specimens of ancient art? Hardly so: for the finest and choicest of these have almost all been carried off to adorn the several capitals of Europe. The inquirer, then, can best see these by staying at home. This expatriation of art-relics, indeed, took place either under Turkish rule or before modern Greece awoke to a sense of their importance. The Greeks now-a-days lament this in vain, and by laws or regulations prohibit any further deportations.

Should he go there, then, to see the ruins of classic fanes? Hardly for these alone, inasmuch as the remains, though inestimably precious, are scanty. A fatality has attended many of the most famous structures. Several have been overthrown by earthquakes. The grandest of all, the Parthenon, was blown up by an explosion of gunpowder. Some have been submerged by *débris* and *detritus*,

and even by alluvial deposits. The sites of many are being laid bare by exhumation or excavation. Probably not one is complete in exterior and interior. The Theseium at Athens is, indeed, nearly perfect in its exterior. But the Athenian Acropolis, the temples in Ægina, at Sunium, at Bassæ, are little more than stately skeletons. At Eleusis countless blocks of marble are strewn about in wildest confusion, still showing brilliant white against a blue-sea background. At Olympia, the site of the Games, the prostrate pillars of Jupiter's temple—lying in a line like soldiers who have fallen as they stood in the battle-field—are veritable "ruinæ."

Should he go there for the sake of the scenery? Hardly for that in itself, apart from the associations. Fair as the Greek scenes may be, there are fairer to be found in many countries, as regards pictorial effect. Vivid contrasts, glistening stone against azure sky, sparkle and glitter, lightness and brightness, colouring brilliant rather than rich, vivacity and smiling beauty, are the characteristic charms of the Grecian landscape.

No, it is the genius which animates everything material, the chain of associations indissolubly linked with the places, that render Greece the cynosure of modern eyes. The ideas are the jewels, and the scenery is but the setting.

This impression is felt most at night-time, when the wind sighs amidst the desolate colonnades, as

if playing on the *Æolian* lyre,—when the moon rises over the *Eubæan* mountains and lights up the sea near the lowering rocks of *Thermopylæ*, when she appears above the horizon and silvers the waves, as seen through the vista of columns at *Sunium*, when she shines over the shoulder of *Hymettus*, causing the *Parthenon* to stand out dark, and pouring a flood of light on the marble of the *Propylæa*. Then the traveller muses, not only on the poetry and philosophy, but also on the political culture and the patriotic valour, of ancient *Hellas*.

If we had never been versed in classic lore the aspect of Greece would be attractive merely, but not significant. Our minds are filled with old Greek names, their images are lovely in our eyes, their sound is musical to our ears. When we wish to beautify or dignify to the imagination any person or thing, a Greek name is given. Though the school-day memories have faded and the particulars are forgotten, still the essential thought remains. Thus, as we travel, we encounter from morn to eve places that conjure up the recollections of our childhood and youth. This alone would impart to such travelling a peculiar fascination. But beyond all this there is a more important object, namely, political instruction in its highest sense.

The classical education, as given in England to our fathers, and still imparted to the rising generation, respecting Greece especially, is in these

times on its trial at the bar of public opinion. With the many competing branches of knowledge, why, it is impatiently asked, should this branch be so sedulously tended as at present—why cannot something more recent and practical be taught? But, when we think of what “living Greece” was, we instantly perceive the reason why she has deservedly occupied her prominent place in British education. Of all secular subjects that could possibly be taught what is more truly instructive than the typical character of the best Greeks? Apart always from Scripture and the Holy Land, what of all human affairs that are to be known is better worth knowing than the deathless story of Hellas? No doubt this story might be told in a far more life-like style than that which is usually adopted in our class-rooms. But, if well brought out, nothing—apart, again, from Biblical knowledge—can be more truly edifying to the youthful mind.

Look, for instance, at Attica, a district no larger than an English county, from end to end of which you may ride leisurely in a single day, or gallop between daybreak and noontide. How small a State, in truth, and yet what mighty deeds it did! In the phrase of to-day, what a wealth of instruction is afforded by the social evolution and the political development of Athens. Let us consider her characteristics—the patriotism corresponding with the freedom of the citizens—the industry in agricul-

ture, in handicrafts, in maritime commerce—the cohesion of all men in the State, yet the advancement of each individual—the culture universally diffused among the citizens—the military discipline in the field, or on board ship, to which not only the hard-handed citizen, but even literary men, poets, philosophers, orators, were subjected—the rule that every man must work with his right arm as well as with his brain—the resolution in danger shown by assemblies elected under a widely-extended suffrage—the artistic spirit, the poetic and philosophic spirit, even the first *afflatus* of that scientific spirit which has since moved the world—the constitutional system affording full play to everything that could promote the welfare of society generally and of each member in it particularly. To this brief summary many noble additions might be made. At the best, it falls far short of the true Christian type. Even then, however, what a lesson it teaches the young regarding human nature. For, as a foil to the virtues and merits, there is a dark list of errors, follies, crimes, showing that the grandest chapter in human annals is but a mixture of good and evil.

Besides the mental and moral achievements of Attica, we should remember her material successes. Let any economist or statistician take the area of Attica and estimate its probable population and resources, count its scattered colonies and settle-

ments, calculate its sea-borne commerce and its accumulated wealth. Further, let him reckon up its armaments by sea and land, its military expeditions abroad, its political efforts at home, and all the sacrifices which were thereby entailed on free and self-governing citizens. Then let him say whether any State of so small a size in modern times could, or would, do anything like as much.

Well, indeed, did Christopher Wordsworth write, "Not at Athens alone are we to look for Athens. The epitaph—*Here is the heart; the spirit is everywhere*—may be applied to it. From the gates of its Acropolis, as from a mother city, issued intellectual colonies into every region of the world. These buildings now before us, ruined as they are at present, have served for two thousand years as models for the most admired fabrics in every civilized country. Having perished here they survive there. They live in them as in their legitimate offspring. * * * * * Again not merely in her material productions, existing here or elsewhere, does the spirit of Athens survive. Not in her buildings and her statues, nor in the imitations of them which are the ornaments of other nations, but also in the purely intellectual creations of her great minds is it to be found; it is to be traced in those writings of her poets, historians, philosophers, and orators which remain unimpaired by time, and not merely live themselves, but have served as the

source of life to others; whose worth could never be estimated till many centuries had elapsed, and who, having now been judged by posterity to be worthy of immortality, have given an interest to the soil from which they sprang, to the ground which they trod, and to the temples in which they worshipped."

Such, then, is the direction in which the thoughts of the traveller are naturally led. But, besides the mental refreshment, there is the political instruction. And this instruction relates not only to the politics of Hellas the old, as affording examples for all times and situations, but also to the condition of Hellas the new, as presenting many problems in connection with the Eastern Question. For many reasons therefore, referring to the future as well as the past, a journey to Greece is worthy to be undertaken.

The vacation of Easter is for this purpose preferable to that of summer or of winter, because it falls in spring. The summer time in Greece is too hot, dry, and dusty; the traveller is distressed by the heat unless he clings to the mountain tops. But then he cannot pass from one mountain group to another without crossing valleys at low levels where heat prevails. The winter-time in the interior of the country is too wet and stormy. Even if the traveller faces the bad weather, he will generally fail to see distant objects through the dense air

surcharged with moisture; and it is the distance that lends enchantment to Grecian views. The autumn is, no doubt, a possible time; but then the snow is all off the hill-tops; the hill-sides have nought but withered vegetation, and the fields are bare after the harvest-gathering. There remains, then, the spring season, which from the earliest ages has been celebrated as the very cream of the year, when Nature bursts forth rejoicing, and with its beauty sets off to the utmost advantage the glories of art and of tradition. Then it is that the snows of winter, having departed from the flanks and spurs of the mountains, still linger for a while on the summits; adding a crown of glittering splendour and a garland of spotless beauty to the classic landscape. Then, too, the barren slopes, even the scarps, the crevices of the rocks, the crags and the precipices, are all decked out with the wild flowers arrayed in colours, surpassing the products of human grandeur. Then, too, the cultivated plains are green with the rising crops.

Still, although the spring is certainly the favourite season, when the traveller will best see the islands, the coasts, the ruins, the views, the prospects, yet he must remember that he will not then be able to ascend the mountains, or penetrate to the sources of rivers. Not for him will be the ascent of Parnassus or of Olympus; not for him will be the access to the seats of the gods, or the

sight of the springs of Styx, of Alpheus, or of Peneius. He will admire at a respectful distance the heights of Taygetus overhanging Sparta, or of Erymanthus towering over Arcadia; of Parnassus looking down on the battle-fields of Greek history; of Olympus, monarch of the Thessalian plains. But the rigour of climate at high altitudes, the thick layer of snow, the sweeping tempest, will prevent him from inspecting these mountains closely. He must be content to see them smile upon him serenely from the cloud-regions.

On the whole, however, as the spring season is held to be the best by the consensus of travellers and of the Greeks themselves, let us consider what can be seen cursorily in a month or so, and what is the best way of seeing it. Such sight-seeing cannot be more than cursory. For if the topography, the antiquarian remains, the historical associations of Greece are to be fully studied, a lifetime would hardly suffice.

In the first place, steam communication at frequent intervals, almost daily, has been established all round the coast of Greece, a priceless advantage to the tourist. Thus he may, starting from the Piræus, pass through the waters of Salamis, the gulf of Nauplia, the bay of Laconia, the straits that separate the Ionian Islands from the mainland. Above all, he may move up and down the Gulf of Corinth and the strait which separates the long

island of Eubœa from northern Greece. On both these voyages, that is, in the Corinthian Gulf and the Eubœan Strait, the voyager may fancy himself to be navigating vast lakes. The views entirely resemble those of lake scenery; great sheets of water apparently inclosed by mountains. But few, perhaps none, of the most famous lakes in the world equal the Corinthian Gulf and the Eubœan Strait in respect of natural beauty and historic interest in combination. In a day's voyage from the deck of a steamer the traveller beholds the Acropolis of Corinth, the snow masses of Cyllene, the entire mountain of Parnassus, the peak of Chelmos, where the Styx takes its rise, the fortress of Lepanto, the heights of Erymanthus beyond Patras, and the waters that were ploughed by the sea-fights of Actium and of Lepanto. What a combination of objects to please the eye and stimulate the imagination! Again in one day's voyage the traveller beholds the surf-beaten shore of Marathon, the snowy range of Eubœa, the castellated bridge of Calchis, another full view of Parnassus, the rocks of Thermopylæ, with Mount Ceta behind them, the distant snows of Othrys, the bay of Volo in Thessaly, with Pelion rising aloft, and at its base Iolcos, the starting-point of the Argonauts. Thus from morn till eve the thoughts are kept astir by a constant succession of places clothed in natural loveliness, or surrounded by deathless associations.

In the next place communication by rail, though as yet in its infancy, has begun an active existence. One short railway has just been opened from Athens through Megara to Corinth, another will immediately be opened from Athens to Laureium, which is distant but a few miles from the "marble steep" of Sunium. From Volo, on the shore of the Thessalian bay, there is a short railway to Larissa, with a branch to Pharsalia. Thereby the tourist is enabled to approach the Vale of Tempe, and to obtain the best possible views of Olympus and of Ossa.

In the third place, there are some, though not many, macadamised roads along which carriages can be driven rapidly. For instance, the traveller can thus be conveyed with ease and swiftness from Corinth past Nemæa, and past Mycenæ, the ancient capital of Agamemnon, right through the rich plain of Argos. Or he may proceed in a carriage and four along the high road from Athens past Eleusis, over the Cithæron Pass into the Bœotian Plain, and thus visit the battlefields of Plataea, of Leuctra, of Chœroneia. In fine weather (but not otherwise) he may drive slowly from Patras (mouth of the Corinthian Gulf), through the primæval forests of Achaia and of Elis, on to the valley of the Alpheus and Olympia, where those Games were held that formed the centre of social life in Hellas of old.

So far, then, the travelling is easy, perhaps

luxurious. Inasmuch as many, if not most, of the places best worth seeing are on or near the sea-coast, even an invalid tourist could visit them. If too weak to land, still from the deck of a steamer he might enjoy many of the most famous and classic landscapes.

But beyond these lines of travel the tourist must depend on the mules and ponies of the country. Now, whatever be the merits of the roads, the carriages, the steamers of Greece, and they are many, the riding on horseback in Greece is literally the worst in the world. Setting aside any comparison with other regions in Europe or America, or the equestrian regions of Central Asia, one would have thought that Greece might bear some comparison with the nearest parts of Asia or of Africa; but no. In Turkey the traveller is well mounted. In Syria or in Palestine he procures gallant little horses from Damascus or from Moab. In Egypt he has the Arabian steed; in Tunis or in Algiers the African barbe. Though the bridle-paths be rough, the animals are sure-footed, and where the ground is at all level he can career along at a good speed. But in the interior of Greece he finds nothing but mules and ponies of the meanest sort, unbroken and untrained, without bridles, guided only by a rope tied round the nose, and with the coarsest pack-saddles, painful to bestride. The fact of there being no bridle in the mouth

indicates that the animal is meant to be ridden only at the slowest walk. It is with this sorry sort of mount that the traveller rides (if riding it can be called) from the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf up to Delphi and the Castalian Spring, over the fir-clad and snow-tipped shoulder of Parnassus, underneath the scarped precipices that flank the famous mountain, or along the road from Thebes to Thermopylæ, or over the Larissa plain and into the umbrageous and rock-bound defile of Tempe.

After the evil reports of brigandage which for many years scandalised the Greek nation, it will now be asked whether travelling in the interior of Greece is perfectly safe. Well, there appears to be entire immunity from brigandage or overt robbery both in the Peloponnesus and in northern Greece. Until 1870 brigandage was rife and rampant up to the very suburbs of Athens. In that year two Englishmen of distinction, returning from Marathon, were captured near Athens, and then murdered. This event roused the Greek Government to such exertions as ended in the extirpation of brigandage. No case of that kind has been heard of for eight years. Even in the newly-annexed province of Thessaly the brigandage (which was very bad) has been stopped, and travellers may now safely proceed to points near the very frontier of Macedonia.

The manner and demeanour of the people are

generally to be commended. The peasantry are quiet and respectful. The educated classes are polite and in several respects cultured. All classes usually show courtesy and hospitality. Their picturesque costumes, their festive gatherings, their village dances, often delight the eye.

While I was making a rapid tour, such as that sketched above, a general election all over Greece was impending. M. Tricoupis was then prime minister, and had held that post with much distinction for several years. He had recently resigned after an adverse vote in the Assembly (*Boulè*), but had resumed office, as his opponents were unable to form a ministry without a dissolution of the Assembly. This dissolution was not granted, and then Tricoupis resumed office. The truth apparently was, that both parties were anxious to be in power while the general election was proceeding. There is much patronage to be bestowed at pleasure of the authority for the time being; the local and municipal officers may have some influence in managing the elections. So Tricoupis, having resumed office with an Assembly where his majority, at the outset very large, had for some time been dwindling away, held his power with a weakened grasp. After conducting affairs for a short time, he obtained a royal decree for dissolving the Assembly, hoping that the new Assembly would be returned with a large majority in his favour, and that a fresh lease of

vigorous power would be granted to him by the popular voice. Accordingly, a general election took place, and it was my good fortune to witness the affair.

Moving about, I saw everywhere the election addresses of the rival candidates posted up, much after the fashion which we are accustomed to see in our northern latitudes. Written in modern Greek, they seemed to be brief and pointed in expression, but somewhat wanting in substance. Knots or groups of electors were constantly to be seen, and much animated conversation on the crisis was to be heard. There were not many political gatherings for the delivery of speeches. But an intelligent interest in politics was widely diffused. The voting is virtually by manhood suffrage; all citizens qualified by residence have the franchise. Every citizen or elector seemed to feel a personal concern in the state or the commonwealth. This feeling extended even to the humblest classes; of course it was said that every peasant hoped to obtain some beneficial measure from the party for which he voted; but the same might be alleged in all countries. Thus every one in his way was a politician. My own servants were full of zeal for their cause. The dragoon, the cook, the coachman, the muleteer, the donkey-driver, were all politicians, were all discussing the merits and demerits of the Ministry (*Politeusis*) and the Opposition (*Anti-Politeusis*).

They were frequently pausing to have a short argument with those of their class whom they might happen to meet by the roadside, or at the village inns.

The issue between the two parties, the Ministry or Politeusis, headed by Tricoupis, and the Opposition or Anti-politeusis, headed by Deliyanis, was not defined on any broad or permanent principles. As already explained, possession is in Greece a great point, and that belonged to Tricoupis. He himself was a political personality of the first rank. He was member for Missolonghi; his family had been known in the struggle for Greek independence, and his relative (of the same name) pronounced the funeral oration over Byron. He was quite worthy of his descent, both as an orator and a politician. He was at this time, the beginning of 1885, a head and shoulders mentally above every man in the Assembly. He was a skilful legislator, and in general matters a capable administrator. Whether he was a real financier or a sound economist may be questioned. But he felt the keenest interest and anxiety (as indeed every Greek minister must feel) regarding the maintenance of Greek credit in the money-market of Europe. He was an ambitious patriot, confident in the star of Hellas, eager for Hellenic expansion, prepared to defer domestic reforms until the foreign policy should be settled. He had exercised a commanding ascendancy for some time. His supporters

still declared that of all living men he was the fittest to pilot Greece through the breakers, political or financial, and that in the event of danger or emergency he would be the indispensable or inevitable guide. The moderate men among his opponents half admitted all this; and even his out-and-out foes scarcely denied it. Socially he enjoyed much repute and popularity, towards which his sister, a lady of eminent gifts and many graces, largely contributed.

Nevertheless, most Greeks of all classes seemed to think that he had committed, or had allowed the commission of, certain faults which came home to the electorate with impressive force. He had imposed some new taxes and had augmented old taxes, in the hope that the national prosperity was on the rise, and that the people would easily sustain the taxation. But the seasons in their courses had fought against him. Untimely rainfall in summer had injured the raisins, which formed the most profitable staple of the exports. Although the production shrank, still prices became cheaper instead of dearer; so the misfortune was double-edged. The general trade, too, shared the depression almost universal in Europe. Thus the modified taxation failed to yield a result proportionate to the increased rates. The revenue did not answer to the spur; the taxpayers were troubled; and yet the treasury was not replenished. Indeed the treasury sorely needed

replenishment; the cash balances had dropped to a low ebb; the accommodation obtained from local bankers was renewed with some difficulty. Some loans recently brought out had not been satisfactorily placed in the European money market. There was an apprehension that the proceeds of former loans had really been applied to the extinction of deficit on current income and expenditure. In a word, the financial credit of Greece did not stand high, and the occurrence of a crisis sooner or later was feared. The cause was not far to seek; the expenditure had been steadily outrunning the income, because a land-force equal to about one army-corps of moderate dimensions had been kept up, and an attempt had been made to keep afloat a squadron of small ironclads. It was not that the Hellenes were jealous of the force by sea and land, on the contrary, they were proud of it. They were ready to justify the military expenditure, but when it came to be adjusted in a budget of Ways and Means, they objected to the fiscal provision which had to be made. In short, they liked the military expenditure, but they disliked the taxes which resulted therefrom. This might be paradoxical, but such is the way of electors when burdens are aggravated. Perhaps "the reason why they could not tell; they did not like it." And they were masters of the situation on the eve of a general election.

The "dies iræ" arrived on the 19th April. The elections for all divisions and towns take place on the same day, and that day is always a Sunday. The ordinary places of polling are the churches in town and country, but if for any reason a church is not available then a national school-room may be used. The electoral agony is not protracted beyond twelve hours, that is, from six o'clock in the morning to the same hour in the evening.

Being acquainted with Tricoupis and some of his ministers, and not being acquainted with "the other side," I naturally leant towards him. In this I was encouraged by my personal followers, who had a similar leaning. On the eve before the eventful morn I lay at Thebes. The muleteer and donkey-driver, being natives of the Parnassus slopes, had gone back in order to vote there. At six o'clock in the morning I went with the coachman to the room of the Board School at Thebes, and saw him vote for the Tricoupis candidate. He then drove me rapidly with four horses along the macadamised road to Athens, arriving there early in the afternoon. I then went with the dragoman to the Athenian cathedral, and saw him vote for three out of the four Tricoupis candidates. The cook was just in time to catch an afternoon train for the Piræus and cast his vote there. As the voting is by ballot all I know is that my followers said they had voted as above described. From their manner I deemed

them sincere in the political convictions they had expressed before the election day. Voting papers are not used; the voter casts a little ball, after the manner of English clubs. The dragoman said that of his four votes he cast three for the supporters of the Minister in whom he believed, and the fourth for one whom he thought the best man.

The next morning, Monday, it was known at Athens that the elections thereabouts had gone against the Ministry. During the day, telegrams came dropping in from all parts of the country in the same tenour. Opposition members might be seen congratulating their supporters from balconies. By the following day, Tuesday, it was known that, though Tricoupis had been at the head of the poll at his own Missolonghi, several of his cabinet had been unseated, and that the newly-elected Assembly, Boulè, contained a decisive majority against him. The King was at Corfu, apparently having shared the belief of many that the majority for Tricoupis would at least be "consolidated" by the general election. But His Majesty had now to be recalled in haste to the capital in order that he might send for the leader of the opposition. On the Wednesday the resignation of Tricoupis was announced. On the Friday week, returning to Athens from Sunium, I saw an unwonted throng of carriages at the front door of the royal palace. The successor of Tricoupis and his cabinet were attending to receive the seals

of office from His Majesty. Once more, for the thousandth time, the instability of human greatness was exemplified.

Being a looker-on during the decisive part of the contest, I could see that there were two parties, but not two distinctive policies, nor two sets of principles, such as those which we connect with Conservatives and Liberals in England, or with Democrats and Republicans in the United States. Tricoupis or not Tricoupis, that was the question. Each party would raise the same objections when in opposition, and would commit the same faults, or pursue the same ends, when in office. Often the politics were local and personal, presenting a perplexed web which a foreigner would hardly care to disentangle. The only guiding opinion was something to this effect, that the country had somehow been brought into fiscal and financial danger, and that a change of ministers might perhaps bring about some economy, to the relief of the treasury, and to the mitigation of taxes. But the mind of the Greek electors did not seem to advance beyond this point. They did not grasp the question as to how such economy could be introduced without a change in the national administration. We constantly heard of economy in this, that, or the other; but the matters were too petty to affect either policy or finance.

Doubtless there is, or ought to be, a policy fit to

become the watchword of a strong party. Such a policy would embrace a military reform with reduction of establishment and expenditure—a restriction of that political ambition which necessitates the maintenance of establishments larger than the country can afford to pay for—a consequent release of funds which would then become available for improving the civil administration—a system thence arising which would foster trade and industry, and augment the fiscal receipts from stricter collection—a financial result which would place the treasury respectably in funds, and would raise the national credit above its present level. But there were few signs of any such policy in the utterances of either party.

Nevertheless, there are certain principles which pervade the mind of modern Greeks and affect their policy. These are Hellenism, freedom individually and collectively, national unity, public honour, and territorial extension. I will briefly explain each of them.

Hellenism, as an idea, has much of nobility. It means the re-forming of the modern Greeks after the model of the ancient Greeks. Hellas the new is to rise as a phoenix from the ashes of Hellas the old. Though the modern Greeks are but slightly descended from the Hellenes of antiquity, and have but little to boast of in this respect, still, their thoughts, notions, hopes, sentiments, are all directed towards

the ancient type.* Their imagination is filled with hazy memories of Hellas in her pristine glory, almost to the exclusion of everything else. They speak of the ancient Greeks as their progenitors. They are gradually recovering all that has been lost of ancient Greek phraseology. Their streets, squares, and boulevards are named after ancient poets, heroes, demi-gods. Their official nomenclature is borrowed exactly from the classic polity. They may indeed have much to regain before they approach the antique standard. Still they look up to it: and in consequence they are inspired with patriotic pride. They certainly care for their country as their country, and therefore may at any moment rise superior to mean considerations. Being generally in very narrow circumstances, they are absorbed in their little affairs of profit or loss, and anxious about the "*res angusta domi*." For all that, their country is ever in the background of their reflections. Having been harried, harassed, plundered, oppressed, down-trodden, at various epochs, they have the petty characteristics that are usually found in much-vexed or long-suffering nationalities, and there is small blame to them for

* The traces of pure Hellenic descent are chiefly to be found in the islands of the *Ægean*. On the main land there has been much of Slavonic admixture in the population. The peasantry of Attica are really Albanian, and in Attic villages the vernacular is more Albanian than Greek.

this. Their modern poetry is tinged with melancholy, as the outpouring of a wounded heart. But, if an appeal be made to them to bear heavy sacrifices for the sake of Greece and Hellenic memories, they will fire up responsively. If an orator or author wished to stir them forcibly, he would make them think that they were the descendants as well as the representatives of the ancient Greeks, and address them as if they belonged to the illustrious lineage of Miltiades, Themistocles, Pericles, and Demosthenes.

They are reminded of the mighty past by their daily surroundings. Every man that sails into or out of the Piræus points to the hillock, named "Xerxes' throne," whence the Persian King looked at his fleet helplessly cooped up for its destruction in the Straits of Salamis. Every citizen that mounts the Acropolis descries the bay that is sacred to the memory of Themistocles and his naval triumph. Walking about the plain of Marathon, I asked the peasants if they knew what the huge sepulchral mound meant; oh! yes, they said, it meant that our fathers fell there in the death-struggle with the foreigners, and we should be ready to do the same. Every wayfarer on the much-frequented line between Thebes and Athens, ascending over the Cithæron ridge, looks right down on the citadel of Plataea, whence the citizens anxiously watched the manœuvres in the battle with Mar-

donius on the plain beneath the walls. A very few miles further on he crosses the Asopus, and passes the site of the Persian camp victoriously stormed by the Spartans and Athenians. Every passenger on board the steamers that ply daily in the Eubœan Strait gazes on the scarped rocks that looked down on the catastrophe of Leonidas and his three hundred. The very name Thermopylæ is to-day current in common talk—"volitat vivu' per ora virûm." The archæologists have now excavated the great tomb at Chæroneia, close on the way-side. Thus every passer-by may see the marks where some ninety heroes of the Theban Guard were entombed, the men who stood where they fought, died where they stood, and were buried where they fell. The townspeople, walking round the suburbs of Athens, may stand on the rock-hewn pulpits where Pericles by his oratory nerved the Athenians to self-sacrificing endurance, and where Demosthenes thundered against Philip of Macedon. Thus the influence of the past is still working in the popular mind.

The Hellenic tendency is seen in the treatment of the language. The modern Greek, being based entirely on the classic Greek, has at its command that wealth of diction and that abundant vocabulary which have delighted the learned world for many centuries. It may be wanting perhaps in simplicity and compactness, with some inclination towards verboseness and pomposity, but it is very fine on

the whole. There were many deviations introduced during the middle ages, detracting from the exactness and symmetry of the language. It is now the fashion to rectify these and to restore as much as possible the inflections of the old language. This classical restoration is beginning to be adopted by every first-rate speaker addressing an educated audience.

Perhaps the Hellenism may be shadowy and the aspiration somewhat vague; but it is as a force moving the national mind, or as the zephyr filling the sails of the divine ship *Argo*.

The next element is that of national unity. Herein the modern Greeks have profited by the example of political disunion in old Hellas, not for imitation but for avoidance. They remember that the want of cohesion among its component parts, and its internecine fratricidal wars, ruined the integrity of Hellas as a nation. If only the Grecian States, Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Thebes, had understood confederation as worked with effect in the United States, and as recently adopted by the Canadian Dominion, Hellas might have been a self-sufficing nationality, and her superior civilization need never have succumbed to the force of Rome. The separatist tendency in politics was the more remarkable, because for social purposes the Greeks used to possess a full capacity for combination. Witness the games, the Pythian, the Isthmian, the

Panathenaic, and especially the Olympian, which were open to all Hellas. These were the greatest of all events in Hellenic society, and in them the victory was considered the dearest of social triumphs. Now in modern Greece there is both social and political unity. Having been rescued from foreign thralldom within the memory of men still alive, being overshadowed by some ambitious powers, and contemninous with some hostile neighbours, she feels that as a little nation her only chance for autonomous existence is absolute unity within herself. It is something more than confederation, it is union that has within this generation been established. No local jealousies, no sectional interests, are allowed to interfere with that. Every man is attached to the constitution of the State in which he feels himself to be a unit. Whether all Greeks are equally attached to royalty, as the supreme and permanent head of the executive, may be doubted. But loyalty of this sort requires more time than has yet elapsed in order to strike its roots deep. And hereafter, if the succession shall be transmitted from father to son, if princes born in Greece and nurtured in Greek surroundings shall ascend the throne, the people will be as much attached to the august headship of the constitution as to the other parts of the political structure.

It is this national sentiment that has strengthened

the hold of the Greek or orthodox Church upon the affections of the people. This Church has played a historic part in the life of the nation. In the dark ages it was the only tie that bound together the scattered remnants of Hellenism, and fused extraneous elements into the Hellenic body as one nationality. It quite fulfilled the historian's idea of being the ark which rode alone in the barbaric deluge, carrying the precious relics of Greek tradition. Despite the shortcomings in its practice and the faults in its system, it is still venerated for the sake of priceless services rendered when the nation was verging upon extinction.

Next, the modern Greeks cling to their freedom individually and collectively. Subjection of a galling sort is sufficiently fresh in their recollections to make them appreciate liberty as a prime blessing. Even those who are discontented with existing things, will fall back on the fact of Independence as being the foundation of all other improvements yet to come. The day, when that Independence was finally settled, is celebrated as the most festive day in the year. Those who harangued, organised, fought, and fell at that time, both natives and foreigners, are gratefully remembered. Among the foreigners the chiefest are Englishmen, notably Byron, who is regarded as a true Philhellene of disinterested zeal and signal

capacity; indeed statues of him are still erected. The half-century, which has passed since those events, ought to have softened the harsher recollections of the struggle. Such, however, is not the case; for enmity against the Turks is still an article in the political faith of the Greeks. This feeling is perhaps preserved by the republication of martial poetry relating to that epoch, and of orations or other prose literature having a similar purport.

Besides their notion regarding the political equality among men, and the dignity of the individual man, the Greeks have a due and proper respect for the national honour and the public credit. In this sentiment there is also a certain sensitiveness, which perhaps causes Greece to be called the-spoilt child of Europe. But above all this the Greeks have a just pride, and an anxiety that their nation should hold its head erect, as being able to retrieve its affairs from the disorder which has at times existed. They must occasionally be apprehensive of a financial crisis occurring. But they regard with the gravest aspect the conduct of those nationalities that have been guilty of repudiation; and, as at present minded, they would submit to almost any alternative rather than incur such a default.

The last of the things which I mentioned as dwelling in Greek minds is territorial extension,

and this must now be explained. It is the darling thought of all classes of the Greeks, from the highest to the humblest. In this thought there are combined three elements, fear, desire, and ambition. The fear is this, lest in the north a large empire, that of Austria, should spread its dominions down to the Greek border near Thessaly; also lest adjacent nationalities, as Servia or Bulgaria, should become so aggrandized or consolidated as to be threatening neighbours to Greece. In their hearts the Greeks assume that all these may be hostile. They also presuppose the hostility of Turkey, should occasion arise. Knowing their own enmity against her, they presume that this feeling is reciprocated, although she has no thought of hurting them, unless they should be the aggressors. But, apart from Turkey, the Greeks not unreasonably apprehend that Austria might so extend herself as to overshadow them, or hang over them like a colossal weight. Even if Austria should refrain from such extension, the same thing might be attempted by Servia or Bulgaria. This would arouse Greek apprehensions, though in a lesser degree; but then a fierce and bitter jealousy would be superadded. A Greek politician would produce a map of south-eastern Europe, and show how Greece proper is but an offshoot of the European continent, a graceful appendage to the mainland. He would then observe

that this mainland in the immediate neighbourhood of Greece proper belongs to a falling power, Turkey, which may disappear any day. But beyond this he would point to Austria, and ask, if she shall once become conterminous, what shall save Greece from becoming a dependent of hers? Then Greek autonomy would be changed from a reality to a shadow. But if Greece can only get a foothold (*pou-stô*) on the continent or mainland, and if the adjoining region shall remain open to all comers, then she has a chance.

Next there enters into the mind of the Greeks that which is simply desire, to use the gentlest term. They feel that they are poor, that their profits in any kind of domestic business are small, and they see no immediate way of augmenting them. They doubtless know that their own little country might be infinitely improved. But this would require capital, which they can neither accumulate for themselves nor borrow from others. They have but little to export, save fruit of various kinds. On the other hand they make but little for themselves, and have to buy from abroad all the manufactured articles they use. While there is poverty at home, they see enterprising Greeks make fortunes by trade in other countries, especially in the British empire. Therefore they cast their eyes round about, to look for possible extensions which

may bring employment, trade, resources. Even Athens of old, in the days of her glory and nobility, had this feeling, and that still survives. The practical difficulty nowadays is this, that all the regions suited for Greek extension are occupied already, and unless the occupants can be ejected there is really no room. Seeing that the principal European powers are extending in every direction, Greece will consider herself blameless in attempting the same thing. Her case, however, is practically, if not in principle, different from that of the several powers whose example in distant regions she is noting.

Then there is the element of ambition, in this wise. Just as Hellas the old claimed the incorporation of all tribes and clans wheresoever situated, who spoke the Greek language, worshipped the Greek gods, attended the Greek games, so Hellas the new aspires to include all the Greeks, meaning all those who speak the modern Greek and obey spiritually the Greek patriarch. Sometimes this claim comprises all that was ever Greek actually or constructively in ancient times, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace (Adrianople), the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus, and even Constantinople; possibly also the coast of Asia Minor, once the scene of the Ionian settlements, and whatever islands in the *Ægean* or Eastern Mediterranean are not already Greek. In

truth the goal of Greek ambition is at Constantinople, and nowhere short of that. It may seem excessive, but it is the fact.

Is there, now, anything in the Eastern Question to suggest this ambition to the Greeks? Certainly there is, namely, the decadence of the Turkish power. An ordinary Greek argues thus: the constitution of "the sick man" is breaking fast, his political death is near; when that occurs there will be at least a contest among the nations for his inheritance, perhaps there may be a scramble for his spoil. Probably much of the booty will go to those who are the first to snatch; none have so old a title or so natural a right as Greece; none have so convenient a facility for the snatching as Greece, by reason of her proximity. These are the thoughts which keep Greece at the white-heat of excitability. The slightest movement in the lower basin of the Danube, on the north coast of the *Ægean*, in the Balkan peninsula, in the Levant, has the same effect on Greek politicians as a spark igniting the dry grass on an American prairie when the wind is blowing high.

Now, if (which may Providence long forefend) Turkey should die a natural death, or drop down under its own dead weight, or fall to pieces from disruptive forces within itself, then the Greek anticipations, as above indicated, are likely enough,

nor is the Greek ambition unreasonable. In that case many a Philhellene, English or other, will wish success to Greece. Her claim is as good as, or better than, that of any other power. She would make as fair a use of her acquisitions as any of her greater neighbours. And an Englishman may be pardoned for remembering that she is sure to conduct any affairs, of which she may have the mastery, in a spirit friendly to England.

Meanwhile Turkey lives ; even though it "brokenly lives on," still it exists. Therefore by international morality, as well as comity, it ought not to be robbed, and it should be allowed every fair chance. This doctrine, though obvious, is not unseasonable. For during 1885 it has been forgotten. Eastern Roumelia, with some show of reason, proposes to unite itself with its kindred Bulgaria, while acknowledging the suzerainty of the Porte under the Treaty of Berlin. Thereupon Servia declares that, the Bulgarians being thus aggrandized, she must either have territorial compensation or else she will go to war, and as she cannot get that, to war she goes. This so-called compensation means some slice of territory to be carved out of Turkey. Thus Turkey, which has done no wrong in the matter, and was not a party to the disturbance, is to be robbed, in order to "compensate" Servia. Instantly Greece is on the tiptoe of expectation. A modern Pandora's

box is opened, and out fly vain aspirations with imaginary fears. The cave of the winds is unstopped, and there issue forth gusty utterances about the interests of Greece. But what did all this mean? Why just this, that Greece hoped a sudden occasion would arise for seizing some town or district that belonged to Turkey. These designs are so veiled in magniloquent generalities, that it is well to unmask them and to lay bare their real aspect, which is that of spoliation at some point or other of the Ottoman dominions. If they be wrong, then England has a right to make her influence felt in restraining Greece.

Then, if Greece is chargeable with harbouring designs of unjustifiable acquisition in Turkey, it may be but fair to specify the places which are alluded to. These are not far to seek: for at present they are Crete, Epirus, and Salonica. We may say at present, because hereafter more places may loom on the horizon of Greek ambition. Crete, as is well known, has repeatedly rebelled against Turkish rule; many fear that the island is in a state of chronic discontent. Without any injustice to the Greeks it may be said that privately they have assisted by sympathy and by material resources those whom they regard as their Cretan compatriots. Whether actual proof be forthcoming or not, the belief to this effect prevails, and is hardly to be

contradicted. This is, of course, calculated to bring the troubles in Crete to a head. Next, as to Epirus, or the Turkish district of Joannina; the hopes of Greece in this quarter have been intensified by her recent acquisition of Thessaly. The annexation of Thessaly has been beneficial to that province, so much must be admitted. Whether it was equitable to Turkey is a question not to be discussed here, as the measure was virtually the work of the English Government, and has earned the gratitude of the Greeks.* At all events, it has left Epirus *en l'air* as regards Turkey, lying between Thessaly, recently Greek, on the east, and Corfu, previously Greek, on the west. After the manner in which Greece was allowed to avail herself of Turkish troubles during the Russian war, and of the re-settlement of eastern Europe by the Berlin Conference, in order to acquire Thessaly, there need be no wonder if she regards Epirus as ripening fruit destined to fall into her lap ere long. Lastly, we refer to Salonica, which belongs to Turkey, is the seaport of Macedonia, and will be the key of the north Ægean coast. We see that Greece adjoins this district, having pushed her border up to the Vale of Tempe and the foot of

* The Greeks attribute the territorial boons they have acquired in divers places on several occasions to Mr. Gladstone, mainly: the gratitude and respect they evince towards him personally are very great.

Olympus. She now casts longing eyes on this place; no object is at present so dear to her as this. But she knows that Austria entertains a similar design. Already a railway runs from this place right through the interior of Macedonia. If hereafter that line should be connected under Austrian auspices with the Upper Danubian system of railways, then the path of Austria to the *Ægean*, at Salonica, will be clear. As a consequence, the progress of Greece in the direction of Macedonia and Thrace would be barred. The thought of such an absolute check is most galling to Greeks of all sorts and conditions. If, on the other hand, in the event of a political tempest bursting over south-eastern Europe, Greece could, during the confusion, make a dash at Salonica from her neighbouring posts in Thessaly, even by a filibustering expedition, she would, as the storm cleared, be found in possession of the coveted prize. The "possidentes" are sometimes blessed in being allowed to retain, and the retention of Salonica would afford her the desired chance of extending eastwards hereafter.

It is for the sake of these requirements, some of which may be emergent, that Greece consents to maintain a force on land and sea, much more than she can afford to pay for, much more than she needs for internal order, and still more than she requires for external defence, inasmuch as none will attack

or molest her while she exists virtually under a European guarantee. It is for this reason that she submits to heavy taxation, to manifold sacrifices, and to financial danger. The army, from 30 to 40,000 men, though small, is yet relatively large in a country like Greece, which is little and poor. Even for this numerical strength, the conscription bears heavily on a population which is too scanty and does not increase in the rural districts. Nevertheless the army is the leading institution and the most popular one also. For that alone will the taxpayers bear fiscal burdens cheerfully. They are but too ready to cut down expenditure conducive to economic progress, but they will spare the military. They will urge that the arming is necessary ; but it, in fact, is hardly wanted save for aggressive expeditions. Besides the unjustifiable character of these enterprises, it is doubtful whether the Treasury at Athens could sustain such expeditions for more than the shortest time. The troops indeed, two or three brigades, could be found, but there would hardly be the means, financial or administrative, of equipping them for service or transporting them. The sinews of war would be for the most part lacking.

Meanwhile those departments of government which help to encourage industry, stimulate trade, develop resources, are financially starved. The

suppression of brigandage is *per se* a great gain. But it is almost the only result of any magnitude that has been won. To this might be added some progress with the national education. But the dispensation of justice is very indifferent. The executive establishments are far from efficient. This is particularly unfortunate in the fiscal branches, where by all accounts the Treasury receives far less than its proper dues. Greece has yet to learn that well-paid and highly organized establishments are essential to the full collection of the revenue, and that to keep these establishments at a cheap cost, but in a low condition, is the worst kind of economy. The public works, though by no means neglected, and indeed advancing of late, are yet much below the wants of a mountainous country grievously needing communications for internal development.

I have thus described Greece as I saw it, and the Greeks as I found them, doing justice to merits and virtues without disguising faults and failures. The best friends of Greece must admit that the character of the administration and the condition of the people fall far short of what might be expected after half a century of independence and autonomy. But it must in justice be remembered that the nation had been long demoralised from causes beyond its control. Despite shortcomings there is

now a spirit and a mettle which, if directed aright, may work marvels. It is said that national rejuvenescence rarely or never occurs. Perhaps, with the growth of civic virtue, modern Greece may prove an exception to that dictum, and thus the glorious youth of Hellas may be renewed.

CHAPTER XIV.

SCENES AND SITES IN PALESTINE.*

Travellers' route to Jerusalem—Season for touring and sojourning in the Holy Land—Value and effect of sacred topography—Configuration and contour of the Land—Central range of mountains—Character of the scenery—Description of particular scenes—In Judæa—In Samaria—In Galilee—In the Tyrian coast—Aspect of the people—Pilgrims and worshippers—Jews and Samaritans—Women at the wells and fountains—Verification of scriptural sites—Erroneous traditions—Authentic identification of many places—Valley of Jehosaphat—Bethany and Bethlehem—The Dead Sea, the Jordan, and Jericho—Bethel and Shiloh—Shechem and Samaria—The plain of Esraelon—Nazareth and Galilean hills—Lake of Gennesareth or Tiberias—Cæsarea Philippi—Remains of Tyre—Places suited for European residence—Present circumstances of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nablus, Nazareth, Beyrout—Religious, educational, and benevolent establishments—Present condition of Palestine—Possible amelioration.

I HAVE now to address you on the most important of all earthly subjects—if indeed it can be called

* Speech delivered before the Theological College, at Salisbury, February 1885.

earthly at all, for it is rather heavenly—and from the magnitude of the subject it is necessary that my speech should be as compact and terse as possible. I have therefore considered carefully the topics to be brought to your notice, and have arranged them in four main divisions.

First, then, I shall say something preliminary regarding the route; secondly, something in regard to the effect and value of sacred geography; thirdly, something in regard to the scenery; fourthly, something in regard to the verification of scriptural sites: then something in regard to situations for the residence of Europeans in Palestine; and lastly, something in regard to the missions, the charities, and the good works which can be undertaken by Christians there.

Respecting the route—the question at once arises, which is the shortest way from London to Jerusalem? You may start any Friday evening from London by what is known as the Limited Mail, together with the Indian postal mail; you arrive at Brindisi the following Monday morning, and at Alexandria the next Thursday morning. That evening you start by steamer from Alexandria to Joppa, or Jaffa, which you reach on the Saturday morning. Thence you drive immediately to Jerusalem, about thirty miles distant, arriving there that same evening. The next morning, Sunday, you may attend divine service in the English church close

by the Tower of David. Thus you reach Jerusalem from London in eight days. As far as the shore of the Holy Land you proceed by what may be called a civilized transit. From the sea-coast to Jerusalem you drive in a carriage. But at and beyond Jerusalem you must either ride or walk. Excellent horses are to be procured there, mules for the servants' baggage, commissariat stores, and camp equipage. In favourable weather the life in the open air, or in little tents sufficiently commodious, is very pleasant. But the period for convenient travelling is short: the spring season being quite the best, and the autumn the next best. Otherwise the climate is hot, sultry, and somewhat unhealthy during the summer months. In the winter months it is wet, bleak, chilly, sometimes even stormy. But, if you wish to travel in the Holy Land for a whole year, then probably the wisest plan would be to proceed thither in the autumn. During November, and perhaps during December, you might tour in the centre of Palestine proper. Then for the winter months you might descend into the warm valley of the Jordan, and inspect the dry districts beyond that river. In the spring you could return and complete your inspection of central Palestine. Then, as the season advances towards summer, you could march through the Galilean hills towards the Lebanon, and spend the summer in

the cool mountain regions between Lebanon and Hermon.

Coming to my second topic—the value and effect of sacred geography—I have to remind you, that, when scientific topography is mentioned in reference to Palestine, the meaning is that the exact words of Scripture should be noted, and then compared with the knowledge derived from the particular locality concerned. It is this comparison that often enables us to interpret the scriptural language aright. This confirms our faith and makes us realize the events of Scripture or understand its imagery. The more we examine the topography of the Holy Land, the more shall we find it correspond with the sacred narrative. If any portion of the Bible had been composed in a country distant from the scene of action, if it were a fable, if it had in any degree been fabricated, there must have been some differences discoverable between the narrative and the results of scientific topography. I need hardly say that no such difference has ever been discovered. Sometimes points have for a long time remained obscure, but further investigation has always supported the verbal accuracy of scripture in matters pertaining to the localities. The effect of a journey to the Holy Land is vivid and vivifying to the imagination. As you travel, you feel that you are following in all humility the blessed footsteps of

Our Lord, that you are privileged to climb the hills which he climbed, to tread the paths He trod, and to drink at the fountains where he drank.

I will now advert to the general configuration and contour of the land. As we approach Palestine from the Mediterranean, we come to the plains of Philistia and Sharon. Then we reach a mountainous tract which forms the dorsal ridge or backbone of the country. The average height of this central ridge is about 2500 feet above the sea, but it rises sometimes to summits of 3500 feet, that is, about the altitude of the highest points in Great Britain. Its general direction is from north to south. Being thus situated close to the Mediterranean, these mountains catch and arrest the moisture-laden clouds blown up by the south-west winds. The clouds then discharge thir moisture upon the hills, and that produces the fertility of Palestine. This moisture clothes the hill-tops with forests, or with vegetation for the pasturage of flocks. Beyond this backbone is the deep rift of the Jordan Valley, and beyond that, again, the land of Moab, Edom, Heshbon, and Bashan. Of the trans-Jordan lands, some, as Bashan, receive considerable moisture, while others towards the south receive but little. These meteorological circumstances must be apprehended by all who would understand the climate of the Holy Land.

Upon the dorsal ridge, above described, are

situated very many of the holiest and most memorable places mentioned in Scripture; and from the backbone on the east side there run off ravines that are famous in the Scriptural narrative. The central ridge terminates in the hills which overlook the plain of Esdraelon—the most important plain in Palestine, and indeed the most sacred and classic plain in the world—whereby a distinct geographical division is formed. South of it are Samaria and Judæa, north of it is Galilee.

In regard to the physical aspect of the country—the beautiful forests of the land have been spoiled by the ruthless and reckless hand of man. The rich pasturage has been much deteriorated. The vineyards and the fig-orchards have also been partly destroyed, though some still remain. Orange gardens still exist here and there, and those at Jaffa are among the choicest in the East. Extensive groves of olives are still to be found near Bethlehem, near Bethel, at Samaria, at Dothan, and elsewhere. These constitute one of the few ornaments still surviving to bedeck the land. Here and there palm-trees, as at Engannin and Tiberias, are to be seen. Where capital and security are required for culture, there we find desolation. But those lands, which can be cultivated without capital by the industry of half-civilised husbandmen, continue to be fairly productive. In many places there are harvests of wheat and barley in some abundance. In spring-

tide there are green crops waving on the plains of Philistia, Sharon, Shechem, Esdraelon, Cana, and Gennesareth.

My third topic consists of the scenery in the Holy Land.

This scenery is said by many to be disappointing; such will certainly be the case with any travellers who may proceed to Palestine under the idea that they are to be delighted with mere physical beauty. Loveliness such as that of Italy, or even of Greece, is not to be found in Palestine. There never was anything in the Holy Land to inspire mankind with a romantic mythology. Nevertheless, there are beauties in the land, though they are often seen under great disadvantages. The air is generally dry in the extreme, though not always; consequently, the effect of distance is lost pictorially. In the strong glare of noon-day everything appears hard and harsh. Horsemen riding along laboriously are apt to find the surroundings dull and monotonous. Such disappointment will however not be felt by those who from artistic training and experience are qualified to judge. When the shadows lengthen in the afternoon, when the slanting rays after sunrise cast long shadows over mountain and valley, then beautiful effects are to be observed. Notwithstanding a certain sort of dulness—it cannot be called flatness—in some parts of the country, there are many fine views to be met with.

In order that you form some idea for yourselves, I will undertake to point out to you at least twelve scenes, which are not only full of poetic beauty, but also have much pictorial effect that may be turned to excellent account either by the pencil or by the brush. I can speak of them with some knowledge, having not only sketched them, but also made studies of them in oil-colours. They shall be in the following order.*

Take, first, Ajalon by moonlight. The spectator is looking westwards, with the valley deep beneath him, its terraced cultivation broken down, its water-courses dried up, its fertility long ago turned to barrenness. The young moon is seemingly motionless in the sky, recalling to memory the text, "Thou moon stand still in the valley of Ajalon." A soft light steals over the mountain-spurs intensifying the gloom below. Beyond the belt of mountains the distant landscape is still visible, and yet farther off is the Mediterranean. On the horizon is the remnant of sunset sky with the fading light of the departed day.

Next, consider the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as seen at sunrise from near David's Tower at Jerusalem. The Olivet range stands violet-grey

* When this speech was delivered, oil studies (by my own brush) of these twelve subjects, and of other subjects also, were shown to the audience.

against the saffron sky before sunrise. The outline of the range is broken by the black dome of the church. Below the eye lies the city of Jerusalem, with the mosque built on the site of the Temple, and the flat tops of the houses diversified by many a tapering minaret. In the foreground is the sheet of water known as Hezekiah's Pool, surrounded by oriental houses, picturesque with their windows and balconies.

Next, look at the view of Olivet from near the same tower at sunset. The Olivet range, instead of being grey as in the morning, is suffused with the rich glow of sunset and with roseate colouring. Around the Mount of Olives itself there is a mass of clouds glorious with the hues cast by the slanting rays. The clouds hang around the sacred mount at one moment like a gorgeous canopy, at another like a flaming standard. Again the city lies beneath the eye, but it is illumined by the warm light of an Eastern evening.

Then, in the fourth place, study the double view from the summit of the Mount of Olives. On the morning when I was there, looking westwards towards Jerusalem, I saw rolling masses of dark rain-clouds behind the city—while the walls, bastions, minarets, cupolas, house-tops were lit up by the early sunlight, in the clearest contrast. A heavenly radiance seemed spread over all the four quarters of the Holy City, Zion, Moriah, Akron, and Bezetha.

The next instant, turning round eastwards, I saw a bright sky with the distant ranges of Moab in dark array. Beneath them there was a sheet of water like a mirror, catching and focussing the sun-rays and literally flashing with light. This was my first view of the Dead Sea. In the foreground were the long slopes and sweeping undulations around Bethany.

Then, fifthly, regard the view at eventide of the Dead Sea from the wilderness of Judæa. The water is not now glittering and quivering with light, but is in repose with emerald-blue colour. The Moab ranges, instead of being dark, are literally bathed in rosy light. Among them Nebo and Pisgah can be made out. The sky is as burnished gold. In the foreground are rugged rock-bound hills, tipped with red light, and sandy hillocks dotted with the blank tents of the Bedouin.

As a sixth subject let us have the view of the plain of Jericho from the spurs of Mount Quarantania. The plain is covered with the dark verdure of gardens and wild-fruit trees over a wide expanse. The fountains which fertilize the plain cannot be seen from this point. But the streamlets and watercourses are visible as they wind among the groves like silver streaks. In the distance again are the Moab ranges and the Dead Sea gleaming bright.

Next take the view of Mount Gerizim, a mass of

darkish limestone, and at its base the plain of Shechem, green with the rising crops. The spurs of Ebal help to form a background, and in the extreme distance is Hermon, at spring-time a pyramid of snow.

In the seventh place, from the hills north of Samaria, let us behold the plain of Esdraelon spread out like a chart beneath our eyes. It, too, is pale-green from the young crops. In the midst of it rise up Tabor and Little Hermon.* In the background are the heights of Nazareth, and behind them again are the Galilean mountains. The prospect is once more completed by the snowy pyramid of Hermon proper or the great. Over this scene there would be azure sky and uninterrupted sunshine.

The next subject would be Carmel, with the clouds and darkness of a rain-storm round about it. Thus seen the mountain has much of solemn grandeur. Beneath it is the plain of Dothan, where Joseph was sold by his brethren to the caravan journeying by this route, which then ran from Damascus to Egypt. In the foreground are extensive olive-groves, their grey-green sombre leafage harmonizing with the leaden hues of the scene.

Or, take Carmel in another aspect, as seen from

* This is called Little Hermon to distinguish it carefully from Hermon proper, a much greater mountain.

the heights over Nazareth, when the mountain juts out as a long-projected headland into the blue Mediterranean. This was the aspect in which Our Lord must have beheld the mountain from these Galilean uplands, during the early years of His life on earth.

The tenth subject shall be that of the Lake of Gennesareth as I saw it from the Latin Convent, in Tiberias. The water was being lashed by a storm into huge waves in which no fishing-boat could live. Black masses of rain-cloud were being driven by the wind. But in these masses there were rifts and openings through which the sunbeams streamed fitfully, lighting up the eastern hills of Gergesa with occasional gleams.

The eleventh subject shall be that of the Mediterranean coast, near Tyre. The Galilean mountain-spurs are projected into the sea. Round the ends of these spurs, at some height above the water, is conducted an ancient military road, doubtless begun by Alexander the Great and improved by the Romans. The roadway is rock-hewn on the precipitous and escarped hill-sides. When I passed squalls were sweeping over the sea, causing the waves to dash against the rocks, and the spray to rise in cloudlets.

The twelfth and last view shall be that of the Lebanon range as seen from the sea near Beyrout. The Syrian hill-sides are clothed with olive groves and orange gardens. The town stands well over

the dark-blue sea. The view is bounded in spring by the mountains brilliantly white, and displaying wide expanses of newly-fallen snow, on quite a row or series of majestic summits.

These twelve views are remarkable for beauty of nature. But man, with his varied complexion, costume, accoutrement, armament, affords many of what the artist calls figure-subjects. Whatever may or may not be said of the landscape, the figure-groups in Palestine, for variety, for picturesqueness, for all that constitutes poetry in painting, are certainly not surpassed, perhaps are not equalled, in any country of the world.

Of these possible groups in artistic combination I shall select six only for your consideration for fear of fatiguing you, with the proviso that, however much I may describe, still more must necessarily be left undescribed.

The first group shall consist of the pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre, or at the site of the Nativity. In alluding to them I drop a veil over the quarrels often degenerating into a conflict of superstitions, and sometimes descending into barbaric outrage. These strange scenes and rivalries, occasionally happening, cast a slur on our ineffably pure religion, must cause Our Lord's wounds to bleed afresh, and will tempt the Moslem spectators to mock at our common Christianity. But, apart from this, when the pilgrims of the several communions are undisturbed by any

fanatical impulses—as will ordinarily be the case—their bearing indicates devotion and aspiration, indeed their demeanour is often most affecting. At some times or places the Latins have the predominance, at others the Greeks, that is, those of the Greek or Orthodox persuasion. Among the latter there are many coming from Russia.

Another subject shall be that of the Latin worship in some of the subterranean chapels near Jerusalem, especially in the chapel at the tomb of the Virgin Mary near Gethsemane; the daylight from the mouth of the rock-cut church streaming faintly down the flight of steps; the interior of the cavern lighted by hanging lamps; the resplendently decorated altar catching the lamplight amidst the cavernous gloom; the vestments of the priests and the cowls of the monks; the solemn chants resounding and re-echoed by the rocky roofs.

The third scene shall be that of the Jews wailing underneath the outer side of what was once the exterior wall of the Temple-inclosure in Moriah, facing towards Zion. On the days appointed for wailing, the effect is marred by an aspect of formality. But on other days it is well to note small knots of men in black garments approach quite unostentatiously the mighty and massive tiers or layers of masonry, undoubtedly placed by direction of Solomon—and there press their foreheads with silent weeping against the beloved stones, indicating a

strength of hereditary sentiment not equalled by any other race under the sun.

The next subject shall be that of the pilgrim bathers at the bathing-place on the Jordan near Jericho at Easter-tide, the probable site of Our Lord's Baptism. The movement, the shifting colours, the bustling eagerness of the multitude at the water's edge, are contrasted with the stillness of Jordan rolling rapidly, fringed on one side by over-shadowing vegetation, and on the other side bounded by dark frowning hill-sides.

The fifth group shall be formed of the armed bands of Samaritans trudging through the vale of Shechem and winding round the base of Gerizim, or stopping to drink at the watercourses and artificial cascades of Nablûs (Neapolis)—with their martial gait, their curious arms, their strange paraphernalia.

The sixth and last subject shall be that of the Galilean women drawing water, either in the morning or the evening,—more particularly in the evening—from the antique and time-honoured fountains at Nazareth or Cana. It so happens that beauty of feature, dignity of profile, and richness of complexion, despite the sun-glare, are more largely diffused among the Galilean peasant-women than perhaps in any other rural population anywhere. The occupation of drawing water twice a day, and walking home with the pitcher placed on the head,

is a calisthenic exercise of the finest kind, and ensures grace of carriage and uprightness of stature (*incessu patuit dea*). The flowing and parti-coloured robes, and the head-dresses, complete the pictorial effect. As the fountains are the same from the beginning, as purity of descent has hereabouts been considerably preserved, and as monuments show that costume has during many ages varied but little—we may imagine that these scenes, daily observable at the fountains, are modern counterparts of the scenes beheld in scriptural times.

The fourth, and most important, topic in this address relates to the verification of scriptural sites.

You are aware no doubt that, while many scriptural places are to us nowadays only geographical expressions, not susceptible of identification, there yet happily remain to us many sites of the utmost consequence, where the verification is so strikingly complete as to add one more link to the long chain of religious evidence. I must admit indeed that several, perhaps many, long-accepted traditions regarding biblical sites have proved to be erroneous. For instance, it has been said—and you may hear it even now—that the Lord's Prayer was delivered on the range adjoining Olivet, but the language of Scripture shows that it was delivered on the hills of Galilee. For a long while men believed that the Transfiguration took place on

Mount Tabor, but the words of Scripture indicate that it occurred near Cæsarea Philippi, evidently on the slopes of Hermon, which is at least three or four days' journey from Tabor. Moreover, it is historically certain that Tabor was at that time a fortified place, wholly unsuited for a momentous event which was to occur in nocturnal stillness and solitude. Again, some traditions aver that Our Lord made His triumphant entry into Jerusalem by the path-way over the summit of Olivet. Whereas Scripture shows that He started from Bethany, and proceeded by the main road round the shoulder of Olivet. Tradition has pointed to a place, some twenty miles or more from Jerusalem, as Emmaus, where Our Lord appeared to some of His disciples; although, according to Scripture, the real Emmaus could not have been more than seven or eight miles away. Further, tradition affirms that the Ascension took place from the summit of Olivet; whereas, according to Scripture, it was from some point between Olivet and Bethany. Lastly, the pellucid brook that flows near Jericho is to this day called the Cherith of Elijah. But from Scripture it is presumable that the real Cherith was far away, and must have been an affluent of the Jabbok, near Mahanaim, in the mid-region across the Jordan. I should add, in justice to the Crusaders, that they built their chapels on the correct sites at Bethel, Shiloh, Jacob's Well, and perhaps other places.

I will now select a few instances where scriptural sites may to-day be verified by the traveller on the spot, and these shall be twenty in number.

(1.) The valley of Jehoshaphat, lying between Jerusalem and Olivet, with the tiny brooklet Kidron threading its narrow way in the midst. Looking down the valley from the north southwards, there are the holiest objects on both sides. On the right hand are Moriah and the Temple-inclosure. On the left are the slopes of Olivet, near the bottom of which stands the Garden of Gethsemane. This garden is still umbrageous with olive-trees, having gnarled trunks and spreading branches; the veritable descendants of the trees under which Our Lord suffered agony. Despite some disfigurement from attempts at horticulture by the Latin monks, still, when the deepening shadows render details obscure, the traveller feels as if he were left alone with the weird trunks and the dark foliage, all inviting solemn meditation.

(2.) Following the same valley we come upon the Cemetery, having rock-hewn tombs of prophets, and some sepulchral structures of David's time, having also the countless slabs and gravestones to mark the burial of Jews during the centuries of modern times. Constant additions are being made, till the arid hill-side glitters in the sun-glare from the white stones, attesting the absolute conviction of the Jews that this is truly the ancestral burial-place, where

every faithful descendant of the Patriarchs should wish to lay his bones. Further on we pass by the village of Siloam, clinging to the steep side of the rocks, and its pools. Still further down the valley we see the place where the worm did not die and the fire was not quenched, the Hill of Offence and Tophet, darkened by the memory of Moloch sacrifices.

(3.) Then turning to ascend the spur of Olivet you reach Bethany, and pass exactly round the angle of the road leading from Bethany to Jerusalem,—that which was known in Our Lord's time as the Jericho road. The name Bethany is lost, but the site is still inhabited under the name of Al-Azaría, from Lazarus.* It is situated charmingly at the very head of a long ravine, leading down to the Jordan. In its sacredly-happy time, when girded with orchards, it must have been one of the most delightful villages in Palestine. From the village there is a rude flight of rock-cut steps running down to the Jericho road. As this is the very line of the Jericho road, and these steps have existed from time immemorial, it is probable that Our Lord must have ascended and descended them in the days of Martha and Mary and Lazarus. It

* The name Lazaros in the Greek Testament is no doubt a version of the Syrian name of Al Azar, which is common to this day.

was from the angle of this road, leading towards the city, that the view of Jerusalem, in the secondary stage of its glory, burst into view before Our Lord as he was about to make His triumphant entry. There, too, may be seen the ledge of rock whereon He stood to pause and weep over the city at the prophetic thought of its coming doom. Of all sites in Palestine, this is the best authenticated and the most touching. Hence the road descends to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and here the people cut the palm-branches, and spread their garments, shouting "Hosanna!"

(4.) From Jerusalem the rider (passing under Zion and overlooking the ravine of Hinnom) proceeds quickly to Bethlehem, situated on an eminence. Near the foot of this eminence are the fields where Ruth gleaned after the harvest-gathering of Boaz. Adjoining these fields are the undulating pasture-lands where David tended his flocks, and where the Gospel was announced to the shepherds at night. To this day the fields produce crops of barley, as of yore.

(5.) Within one long march from here (to the westward) is Elah, in Philistia, where David slew Goliath. There is the strongest presumption for the identifying of this vale. When the topographical correspondence has been fully made out, it is necessary for completeness that there should be round and smooth stones, such as those which David

used for his sling. Now there is still a dry water-course, with stones which are precisely of this character, and are not usually found.

(6.) Turning eastwards, in the course of two marches we reach Hebron, and near it is Mamre, the camping-ground of Abraham. It was from these heights that on the morn of doom to Sodom and Gomorrah he looked towards the Dead Sea plain, and saw the smoke rising in masses from the destructive conflagration. From the configuration of the heights he could only see towards the south-eastern end of the Dead Sea. Accordingly, we must search at that end only for the sites of the burnt cities. Proceeding thither, what do we find? Exactly what is to be expected from the unerring accuracy of Holy Writ: namely, amazing marks of a spontaneous combustion of asphalte and bitumen, which marks can be verified by geological research. This phenomenon, too, is visible thereabouts only.

(7.) Not far from the head or northern end of the Dead Sea we come upon the mounds and the springs of the first Jericho, suddenly dilapidated by divine decree—apparently by means of one of the earthquakes known in that region—and then upon the stones and fragments indicating the second Jericho, which was beautified by Herod, and where Our Lord repeatedly taught. The natural springs are to this day the sources of fertility and culture to the Jericho plain, though the vegetation is now

of an inferior character to that which is known to have existed in scriptural times.

(8.) Near Jericho there is a remarkable bay or open spot in the right or western bank of the Jordan : the only place of this character in the course of the river, which runs narrow between steep banks, clothed with dense vegetation ; and therefore the only place suited for ceremonial bathing. We have every reasonable presumption, then, that this is the point where the multitude congregated to be baptized by John, and is the scene of Our Lord's Baptism. It is still crowded by pilgrim-bathers on holy occasions, and the spectacle at Easter-tide is wonderfully impressive. If we thus recognise this scene, we must expect to find a desolate mountain near at hand, where the Temptation might have occurred. Accordingly, there is precisely such a mountain conspicuous in that quarter—now called Quarantania, from the unbroken memory of the Forty Days and Nights. Of all mountains in the Holy Land, this mountain has the most strongly marked characteristics, with its serrated and castellated ridge, its scarped sides, its lines of rock-ledges, one below the other, its red-and-ochre colouring, its rows of caves, partly natural, partly artificial. From its base there burst forth the springs or fountains which have made the Jericho plain one of the gardens of the land.

(9.) Ascending from Jericho and winding round

the spurs of Mount Quarantania, the rider gradually reaches the ridge of the central backbone of the country—which I have already described—and finds himself at Bethel. This is regarded as among the most certain of the scriptural sites. On this commanding situation was the halting-place of the patriarch fixed and his altar raised. Here, looking southward, one descries on the right hand the blue horizon of the Mediterranean, having an imperfect view of the country in that direction. But on the left one has a good view of the Jordan valley and its plains, which in the olden times were fertile. Thus one understands exactly how Abraham offered Lot an apportionment of the country either to the right or to the left; and Lot, seeing the fertile champaign down to the left, chose that side. Close by is the once fortified hill of Ai, the capture of which was compassed by Joshua in one rapid march from his military camp near the Jordan. From the stony *débris* of the citadel you perceive that, according to the words of Scripture, there ought to be a place below on the north-west corner where the Israelite soldiers lay in ambush. You look down and, behold, there is such a place.

(10.) Marching northwards the traveller visits Shiloh. This site was made out in modern times chiefly by the precise directions given in Scripture for reaching it. Follow the line of country prescribed by the words, and what do you find? In

the midst of desolation, a broad level space—the only space in this part of the country suited for the encampment annually of the twelve tribes. And above this a slightly elevated but smaller plateau for the erection of the tabernacle. Struck by the desolateness the spectator calls to mind the divine denunciation—"See what I did unto Shiloh."

(11.) A short ride takes the rider to Shechem, where Abraham first settled, under the shadow of the twin mountains, Gerizim and Ebal, facing each other. Between the two mountains there runs what orographers call a saddle, which is the watershed between the Mediterranean and the Jordan. This saddle commands a convenient view over the ground of Shechem. Here, then, in all probability was the point where Joshua must have stood to deliver his final words to the Israelites before his death, looking over the heads of the people gathered beneath. Those who could get near must have heard his words as recorded in Scripture; those who could not, must have watched the form and gestures of the aged warrior addressing them for the last time.

(12.) Near this are the choked-up remains of Jacob's Well near the foot of Gerizim where Our Lord talked with the woman of Samaria; with the village of Sychar close by, whence she had immediately come. Pointing to Gerizim she asked whether God was to be worshipped there, and Our Lord, perhaps for the first time, declared the per-

fectly spiritual character of the worship which He inculcated. As these most memorable words were uttered, the outline of Gerizim must have been clear against the western sky. Standing at the Well you gaze on that outline now, with its varied forms, not of any ordinary type, but distinguished by a character peculiar to themselves.

(13.) A few miles off, the hill of Samaria rises, still clothed with olive-groves on its terraced sides, and the top still adorned with long lines of pillars, the remains of the rows of colonnades built by Herod.

(14.) A few miles to the north, the traveller scans the view from the hills of Samaria over the plain of Esdraelon. From no point in Palestine do so many known scriptural sites come at once within the range of vision as here. The beauty of the view I have already mentioned. Descending into the plain the rider passes along the base of Gilboa, still called by that name, and still sterile, never moistened with dew since the curse of the Psalmist. Near the base of Little Hermon* are the caves where dwelt the witch whom Saul consulted on the eve of the fatal battle.

(15.) Midway on the plain stands Jezreel, on slightly rising ground, which is here the water-

* The distinction is always to be remembered between this mountain and Hermon proper.

parting between the Mediterranean and the Jordan; the situation was indeed meet for a royal city. A village has replaced the town, and stone-built cottages stand on the foundations of mansions. A tower rises up probably where the tower of Jezebel once stood. At all events it was from here that the signs were observed of a possibly hostile force advancing from the Jordan valley, the clouds of dust and the charioteer driving furiously. At a short distance runs Kishon, in hot weather almost dry, but rapidly flooding after rain, with a quagmire bed, reminding us to-day of the manner in which Sisera and his host were engulfed.

(16.) From the plain we ascend by a narrow rocky pass, which has in all probability always existed as the only pass. If so, this must be the very way by which Our Lord passed frequently up and down to the uplands of Galilee, in a hollow of which Nazareth lies nestling. The height from which the Jews threatened to cast Our Lord may be seen, though the precise point cannot be identified. Inside the town there is a fountain, which, springing in rocky ground, must have continued unchanged from the earliest ages, though structures may have been raised around it in subsequent times. This then, we presume, must be the very fountain where the Virgin Mary, with the infant Jesus, used to draw water. From above the village is the noble view already described, and this

is the very view on which Our Lord must have gazed in the early years of His life on earth.

(17.) In the Galilean uplands are two hills of a marked character. Of these one (Kurûn Hattîn) is probably the Mount of Beatitudes, where the divine sermon was preached. It is easily accessible from the towns and villages of Gennesareth, and commands a view of the sacred lake. The other is certainly that which in Our Lord's time was crowned with the "city set on a hill," to which He, with outstretched arm, directed the eyes of His disciples.

(18.) On the western shore of the Lake of Gennesareth, now called the Lake of Tiberias, or Tabariâ, the plain of Gennesareth itself is identified, together with mounds overgrown by rank vegetation. Here are the remains of a synagogue, which may be one of the very synagogues where Our Lord taught and preached. There are three sites discernible which clearly belong to Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida. The site still called by the name of Keraza may be assigned to Chorazin. The site nearest the entrance of the Jordan into the lake may probably be assigned to Bethsaida Julias. If this be right, then the third or remaining site must belong to Our Lord's own city, Capernaum. We pace along the shore where was moored the boat on the prow of which He stood as on a pulpit to deliver His message to man-

kind. Here were the fisheries (now utterly extinct) whence He summoned the fisherman to be His disciple. Here were the fields, the thorns, the stones, the pathways, whence He derived the imagery for the parable of the Sower and the Seed.

(19.) Following the course of the Jordan from the lake to its source we come to Banias, the undoubted site of Cæsarea Philippi. Here Our Lord gave His commission to Peter. And it is remarkable that here stands a rock of majestic appearance. We may imagine that from this rock Our Lord drew that image which lasts for all time. And we may picture to ourselves the scene—Our Lord with uplifted hand pointing to the rock and declaring Peter to be a man of adamant character, upon whom, as upon a rock, the Church should be built. Near here rises Hermon, the king of the neighbouring mountains, to which Our Lord ascended at night to be transfigured before his chosen disciples.

(20.) Lastly, leaving the Galilean mountains we descend to the Mediterranean coast and to the ruins of Tyre. There the topographical features can be discerned, which, in the then state of shipbuilding and maritime traffic, rendered old Tyre the mistress of ancient commerce. The fortified island near the coast, the waters, almost land-locked between the island and the beach, afforded a perfect harbour for the vessels of that age, which must have been no larger than small coasting craft in later ages.

There the remains are visible of the earthwork causeway which Alexander the Great caused his soldiers to construct from the mainland to the island, so that the sea-girt citadel might be assaulted. Thus we see the perfect fulfilment of the doom predicted by the prophets, and the destruction which is still going on by excavation among the *débris*. Indeed the stone masonry of Tyre has furnished the materials for several modern towns under Turkish rule. Thus the queen of the old Phœnician trade has drained the cup of misfortune to the dregs, and the commination by Ezekiel has been realized.

This completes my list of twenty instances, proceeding in geographical order from south to north, in which the sites of scriptural places may be verified in the most convincing manner. The list might easily be enlarged. I have not alluded to the site of the Crucifixion, because it is not known, and is still a matter of controverted opinion. There are many difficulties respecting the traditional site, as approximately indicated by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

I must now advert briefly to the places in Palestine suited for European British residence. Some British people reside at Jerusalem, clergy, missionaries, and others engaged in good works. But, despite the matchless, the unapproachable interest of the Holy City, there is an ineffable melancholy

about it, causing a sense of depression after a time, which must render it unsuited to permanent residents, except those who have a particular or obligatory vocation. Bethlehem on the other hand is cheerful and bright, with pleasant prospects all around; it is also very accessible, and would always have some European society. Nablûs, at the foot of Gerizim, is beautifully situated, amidst sacred and historic surroundings, with a fine landscape. It is a Protestant missionary station, and would generally have some European society; but it is not easily accessible, being two long days' journey from either Jerusalem or Nazareth; it is indeed in the very heart of Palestine. Next, Nazareth has always some European society, and has several missionary or other benevolent establishments. It frequently has speedy communications with the coast at Haifa, near Acre. If that communication is available, then it is easily accessible. But if that fails, then its accessibility is spoilt, for it is four days' journey either from Jerusalem or from Beyrout, and in bad weather the marching is liable to interruption, especially on the Beyrout side. It is delightfully situated, with noble prospects in every direction, and amidst surroundings of supreme importance. It is airy, cheerful, invigorating to the spirits; and is quite the pleasantest place in Palestine. There is the German colony at Haifa, the place just mentioned between Acre and Carmel, a charming sea-

side situation. Lastly, Beyrout is an interesting city of growing importance; but it is becoming like a Levantine city, and the associations of the Holy Land hardly reach thither. Still it is the place whence to begin the study of the Lebanon; it is the seaport for Damascus; and it is near Antioch and other places of importance in the Apostolic times. It is therefore well suited as a head-quarter for those who wish to visit many of the sacred localities.

Lastly, I must touch on the missions, the charities, the good works, which are being or may yet be undertaken by Christians in the Holy Land.

One of the most important missions is that for the conversion of the Jews, which has its headquarters at Jerusalem. It serves also as a Christian mission for people of all creeds and races. The Ophthalmic Hospice at Jerusalem has been enlarged, improved, and developed lately under the auspices of Sir Edmund Lechmere and other English gentlemen in connexion with the ancient order of Saint John. This institution has done already much healing work for the eye diseases, which are among the scourges of the land. It will do much more yet if it shall receive substantial support in England. There are effective establishments at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth for the promotion of female education in the East. From Beyrout as a centre our American kinsmen are conducting a

beneficent mission among the inhabitants, not only of that vicinity, but also of the whole Lebanon district. They have generous rivals in several British and German missions. The Edinburgh Medical Mission has a very useful establishment at Nazareth.

In conclusion—the constant presence of Europeans, especially British, produces a good effect on the Muhammadan (Turkish) administration of the country. A generation ago, bloodshed and robbery were common, and, as travelling was safe only for those who were prepared to defend themselves by force of arms, travellers were not numerous, at least in the remote interior. Now, however, travellers are so numerous, that at Jerusalem there were not less than three hundred saddles belonging to an English firm, for the use of tourists. With many independent witnesses travelling about, the Turks are obliged to govern much better than they used to do. It is melancholy to think of the comparative ruin that has overtaken the sacred land which is still occupied by the descendants of the Canaanites, the Philistines, the Amorites, the Jebusites. After the misgovernment of centuries, the land is half desolate, but with a period of good government it would at least partially recover. Of course such a thing as British administration is not, politically, to be thought of. Still none who know all that could possibly be done for such a country will fail to pray

that some such administration as that may, under an all-wise Providence, be established there. How blessed would be the result if Palestine could have for half a century such an administration as India has had for a century! Then, indeed, the country would begin to recover. Security of tenure would enable the fellaheen, the peasant proprietors, to cultivate the soil infinitely better than they do now. Security of capital would soon cause the old vineyards to be restored, the fig-orchards to be re-planted, the terraces to be re-built on the hill-sides, the choked-up fountains to be cleared, the cisterns to be reconstructed, the water-courses to be repaired. Forests and green pastures would re-appear, and once more there would be cattle on a thousand hills. A good system of hydraulic engineering would render the whole valley of the Jordan, from the Lake of Gennesareth to the Dead Sea, a network of irrigation. There would be canals and channels from one end to the other. The plain near Jordan mouth, now imperfectly cultivated, would have such cultivation as might once more render Jericho the envy of nations and the garden of the East. The land of Canaan, under good government, would once more flow with milk and honey. The wilderness would be re-peopled, and the plain of Sharon would again blossom like the rose.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONGO BASIN.*

Henry M. Stanley—East African mountains—Water parting of the Zambesi and the Congo—Death of Livingstone—Source of the Congo in Lake Benguela or Bemba—Luapula and Lualaba rivers—Lake Tanganika and Luindi river—These several rivers merge into the Congo—The Stanley Falls—Middle course of the Congo—Stanley Pool—The Livingstone Falls—Lower course of the Congo—The basin of this river system—Climate, vegetation, and inhabitants—Trade and products—Ambition of the European Powers—The claims of Portugal—The Berlin Conference—The International Association—The French claims—Question of European colonization in the Congo region—British interests—The railway projects—The slave-trade—Religious missions.

WHEN in the autumn of 1876 Henry M. Stanley, penetrating beyond the western shore of Lake Tanganika in Eastern Africa, came upon a morass, and spied a little shoot of water escaping westwards—what did he think? That perhaps this jet of water might be flowing into the Atlantic 1,200

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miles away. When he followed, in this neighbourhood, another stream till he saw it join a majestic river, already known from the travels of Livingstone and Cameron;—when he resolved to pursue that river to its mouth, either northwards on the Mediterranean or westwards on the Atlantic;—when he made his boatmen drag their canoes through trackless thickets round the cataracts;—when he and his crews fought in self-defence against butchery by cannibals—by what was he animated? By the ambition of adding a new domain to the realm of Discovery. When at length, in the summer of 1877, his diminished band having been brought to the verge of starvation, he sent appeals in four languages on the chance of their reaching some European near the sea-coast, and saw the food and raiment come to his famished camp—by what was he cheered? By the consciousness that one more African problem had been solved, and that the Congo of the Western coast had been connected with a river springing from the East African range.

Since that time nine years only have elapsed, and the dreams of geographers, the visions of travellers, have been realized. Already, at least five European Powers—England, Germany, France, Portugal, Belgium—together with the United States of America, have been considering their territorial or commercial interests in the region of the Congo

from end to end; a composite body, styled the International Association, is establishing a position in the heart of this region; and a Conference is sitting at Berlin, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, to discuss, among other things, the trade regulations of this water highway. England, above all other Powers, has interests in this quarter which are capable of indefinite enlargement. Besides her direct possessions in the South African continent, irrespective of her power on the Nile and the Niger, on the coasts of Guinea and of Zanzibar, she has by her maritime trade acquired a just status on the Lower Congo. It was by the skilful daring of her sons, by the endurance of Africans nursed under her protection, by the resources of her political base on the East African coast, that the sources of the Congo were unveiled, that the upper basin was discovered; that hence the whole region, from the eastern mountains to the western coast washed by the Atlantic, was opened to the ambition of all Powers, and to the trade of all nations. In asserting this, we do not forget that Stanley, though of British blood, is an American citizen; that his enterprise was in part sustained by American funds: and this provision redounds to the honour of the newspaper press in London and New York. With its past record most eventful though comparatively brief, with its present beset by rivalries menacing to British interests, and with its future full of

momentous possibilities, we desire to lay before our readers the problem of the Congo, in its geographical, commercial, and political aspects.

We have with this view referred to the most recent parliamentary papers regarding the abortive negotiations between England and Portugal in the matter of the Congo; also regarding the West African Conference at Berlin. Next we cite Stanley's animated narrative of his journey "Through the Dark Continent." The interest which was excited by this book on its first appearance six years ago must have been resuscitated with additional force now that its author is seen to have created by his prowess a revolution in the politics of Central Africa. Further, we adduce the newest book on the subject of the Lower Congo, by Mr. H. H. Johnston—a work which, so far as it goes, presents a graphic account of the coast, of the natural phenomena for some distance inland, together with much information regarding the population, the products, and the trade, up to the head of the first series of cataract-rapids.

For an understanding of the Congo problem we propose to answer the questions which will be rising in the anxious minds of our readers. What in its entirety is the region of the Congo? What are its dimensions, its climate, its capabilities? What is its population, its produce, its commerce, present and prospective? What is its political situation

now existing, or likely to become? What are the just interests of England therein, and how are they to be guarded? Of these important questions the first is geographical, the second is largely commercial, the third is in the main diplomatic, the fourth is patriotic.

In order that the river-system of the Congo may be comprehended, it is necessary to call to remembrance the great East African range of mountains, running from Abyssinia in the north to the embouchure of the Zambesi on the Indian Ocean, opposite Madagascar, in the south. The range consists of groups of mountains formed into a general line, and of several lesser ranges more or less parallel to each other. This broad mass of mountains has its front facing the Indian Ocean and overlooking the Zanzibar coast; while its back, so to speak, rests on the table-lands of Central Africa. In it are embosomed several lakes, which together form one of the finest lacustrine systems in the world, second only to that of North America, perhaps hardly second even to that, in dignity and importance. For, of these lakes, two—the Victoria Nyanza and the Albert Nyanza—are now famous as giving birth to the Nile; while another, the Bemba, is the parent of the Congo; and a fourth, the Tanganika, is just beyond the boundary of the Congo region.

Towards the lower end of the East African range, passing from north to south, there runs transversely

a range from west to east, right athwart the continent, from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. This cross-line between the two oceans forms a mighty water-parting; for below it is the basin of the Zambesi belonging to Southern Africa, and above it is the river-system of the Congo, belonging to Central Africa. The transverse range, then, running from west to east, and impinging on the East African range, forms a sort of right angle. In this angle of mountains there reposes Lake Bemba, a majestic sheet of water, 3,690 feet above the sea-level, about as large as the principality of Wales. The lake has a permanent outlet in a river: and that river is the true head-water of the Congo.

This lake was also named Benguela by its discoverer, Livingstone; but it is better to adopt the shorter name, Bemba. It was amidst the surroundings of this lake, its morasses and quagmires, its grassy oozes, its reedy and sedgy swamps, that the Great Traveller caught a fatal malady from wading in chilly water. Here, right between the margin of the lake and the base of the great water-parting, about May-day 1873, he died, in the very scene of his grandest discovery, as a soldier of Science falling on the battle-field after the proudest of his victories over Nature. But, like Columbus and other discoverers, he perished before learning the full import of this his last discovery. He imagined that perhaps this lake might be the ultimate source of the

Nile, and had hardly connected it in thought with the Congo. Thus, wasted with pain and dying prematurely, he left one important link missing in the vast chain of his discoveries. That link was found, five years later, by Stanley's journey through the Dark Continent.

But we must now turn to the beginning of the Congo. The river, here called the Luapula, issues from the lake in the 11th degree of south latitude. In his dying moments, the last question which Livingstone ever asked had reference to this Luapula. The river flows northwards for 300 miles as the crow flies (though, of course, its winding channel is much longer), and changes its name to Lualaba. It is then joined by the little river Lukuga, more properly called Luindi, which rises in the mountains west of Lake Tanganika. This Luindi is the stream which Stanley seems to connect with the morass on the western shore of the lake. That connection has, however, been shown by geographers to be casual and occasional, being dependent on the overflow when the lake is in high flood. The lake has indeed no other outlet; still, the out-pouring is intermittent, and this is accounted for by the rainfall and the evaporation being in ordinary years about equal,—that is, balancing each other.* The permanent

* See "Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, 1882," vol. iv. p. 628; also "British Association Report, 1882," p. 623.

source of the Luindi, then, is in the hills west of Lake Tanganika. Next, the main river Lualaba is joined by the stream Luama, which also rises in the mountains west of Lake Tanganika, and along which Stanley marched. The junction of the Luama with the Lualaba is the point which he beheld with exultation, hoping that the waters might be running to the Atlantic, but fearing lest after all they should lead him towards the Victoria Nyanza and the Nile. Near this junction is the village of Nyangwe, famous in the annals of geographical discovery. Here Livingstone stopped more than once; here Cameron and Stanley sojourned for a while. This, too, is the furthest point to which trade penetrates from Zanzibar, on the eastern coast.

But we must revert to the point where Stanley, marching from Lake Tanganika, first caught sight of the true Congo. The river does not as yet bear its principal title,—namely, Congo; for it is called the Lualaba. As already noticed, its course has heretofore been northerly, and for some distance it still maintains that direction, till it touches the equatorial line near the series of cataracts known as the Stanley Falls. Hereabouts (of course with some intervals of space) it receives five large tributaries, of which the sources have not yet been explored, but which must in part rise among the mountains south of Lake Albert Nyanza, and near the Lake Muta Zige; while a part of them rise in the moun-

[illegible]

the 12th degree of south latitude—the distance is about 1000 English miles. If the reader carries his imagination from Lake Albert Nyanza in the north down to Lake Bemba in the south, and back

to Lake Tanganika in the east, he will perceive how vast is the Upper Congo area inclosed within these natural limits.

But we must return to our river which we left at the Equator. Hereabouts are the Stanley Falls, which are not waterfalls as ordinarily understood, but form a series of cataract-rapids, six in number. The description of them will be instantly realized by those who know the American rapids just above the crest of Niagara, or the angry waters in which poor Webb lost his life. The rocky islets near the heads of the several Stanley Falls are fastnesses held by cannibal tribes, who sorely harassed Stanley and his men as they hauled their canoes round the obstructions in the navigable course. By this, the first of its abrupt descents, the river makes its exit from the upper plateau of Central Africa.

Below the Stanley Falls the river—receiving, as we have just seen, a vast accession of waters from north-eastern and eastern tributaries—runs to a considerable distance north of the equatorial line. Here it has received from Stanley the name of Livingstone. Its breadth becomes magnificent, spreading in some places for several miles from bank to bank, being sometimes studded with islands, and often having a convenient depth with a moderate current. The ramification of the creeks is endless, but the channels, though labyrinthine, are often deep. The bays and nooks of the umbrageous

islands afford ample shelter. The rainfall is nearly constant; the year may be described as a long rainy season with intervals of hot sunshine, and with a break of cool dry weather in the winter. The vegetation has all the splendid features which are well known as typical of the tropics. Nature always endows such tracts as these with the abounding wealth of the vegetable kingdom.

Passing beyond the Equator, the river, having heretofore pursued a northerly course, turns in a north-west direction till it attains its extreme point in the 2nd degree of north latitude, having just received one more tributary from the north, which is its last tributary from that quarter. Then it forms its Great Bend, trending first south-westwards, then southwards, and lastly westwards to the Atlantic. Though it has been descending for the most part gradually, it is still 1500 feet above the sea-level, and its climate is somewhat temperate. It is also beyond the zone of excessive rainfall.

It now begins to derive accession of water from the south, and receives three large tributaries from that quarter, which rise far away in the transverse range of the Zambesi water-parting already mentioned. Its stream is majestically broad between wooded banks, through a comparatively open country, with a current quiet enough for local navigation on the most extensive scale. At last it broadens out into a sheet of water like a lake, dotted

here and there with islands, and known as Stanley Pool. It is now nearing the last of its hilly barriers, through which it must burst tumultuously in its westerly course. This barrier is the range of hills which overlook the West African coast; and here the river-course is a series of cataract-rapids, called the Livingstone Falls, resembling in character those already described at Stanley Falls. By this, the second of its abrupt descents, it makes its exit from the lower plateau of Central Africa, and enters upon the littoral tract. It is here called locally the Zaire. Then it pursues an uneventful course, surrounded with all the gorgeous luxuriance of tropical vegetation, for a hundred miles, without forming any delta whatever. Thus it rolls a single volume of water into the Atlantic in the 6th degree of south latitude, reddening or darkening the salt water for many miles with earth and detritus washed down from the plateaux of Central Africa.

The basin of this river-system, consisting of a main river with at least nine large affluents, must be enormous. The "catchment area," to use a phrase of hydraulic engineering, must, according to geographical delimitation, comprise all the lands within the three watersheds, north, east, south (as already indicated), and the Atlantic. Stanley is understood to have reckoned this at 1,300,000 square miles; and a consideration of the map shows that the reality must nearly approach this estimate. The

area is at least a million of square miles, and perhaps more. In other words, it is nearly as large as British India, excluding the Native States; or as China, excluding its mountainous regions and its outer plateau. The population of this region cannot be stated, even conjecturally. Stanley again is believed to have reckoned the total at 44 millions of souls, but for this reckoning there cannot be real data. The land is not everywhere peopled; vast forests and jungles are known to exist; hills occur here and there; but there are no rugged ranges within the area, and no deserts. The region is tropical throughout, with heat, sunshine and rainfall, generously distributed. Fertility and vegetation therefore prevail generally. Along the main river, and at the points of confluence with its tributaries, many inhabitants have been seen; and other tribes are reported to be dwelling further inland. As the civilization is low and agriculture restricted, as inter-tribal warfare largely exists, the population will not be dense. On the other hand, fruit, vegetables, and fish are abundant. Consequently the people are not driven to earn a scanty or precarious subsistence by hunting wild animals—like, for instance, the Indians of North America—nor do they perish from rigour of climate. Therefore the population is not likely to be extremely sparse. If, at the lowest conceivable average, there be twenty souls to the square mile, the population (on one million of square miles)

would be 20 millions. If there be an average of thirty—still very low—the population would amount to 30 millions. As yet, the people are nearly all uncivilised; some of them are gentle and open-hearted, but many are predatory, barbarous, blood-thirsty. Still, in the mass, they will prove amenable to the humanising agencies and the civilising influences which will now be brought to bear on them. In that case the population will multiply; and if the average should become sixty per square mile—which is about the lowest of the ascertained averages in any province of India or of China—then the population would amount to 60 millions. If, quite hypothetically, this region were to be subjected, for a century or so, to a first-rate governing Power, like the British, then teeming millions would be seen in Central Africa, like those which multiply in south-eastern and eastern Asia.

The national character will doubtless be found to belong to the well-known African type. The many tribes of which the population is composed must be homogeneous, and their dialects must be derived from the same linguistic root. Ethnically they all belong to the central section of the great Bantu * family. Some branches of the race are evidently above, while others are much below, the general

* See Stanford's Series: *Africa*, by Keith Johnston; Appendix, by A. H. Keane.

average ; while some few have sunk to a miserable, even horrible, depth. They are frequently brave, but in fortitude and in the finer temper of courage they are inferior to the noble Africans of Stanley's band, who were of Arab origin. They have the elements of good ; they are simple-minded and teachable, as the best missionary experience will attest. But, regarding their capacity for improvement, there is much difference of opinion among well-informed persons. American experience, which by this time is considerable in respect to the improvableity of the African race, gives as yet but a doubtful note. No man can say whether the African races will reach even the moderate standard which has been reached by the natives of China, of India, and of other Asiatic countries.

The materials for commerce are, of course, numerous. There are oils, fibres, ground-nuts, seeds, india-rubber, dyes, pigments, ornamental woods and reeds, and all the varied products of the palm family. There are the ivory, the horns, the feathers, and other productions of the animal kingdom. Even some mineral resources—such as copper, gypsum, bitumen, malachite—may be found. For the creation of staple products on a large scale, the advent of civilization must be awaited. But probably tea and coffee could well be raised in many parts of this region. The natives are skilled in some kinds of handicraft ; their huts are often well constructed :

they are good carpenters and canoe-builders; they possess knives, spears, and other iron instruments, most of which they must have made for themselves. They know, in some slight degree, the use of fire-arms, which they obtain from the coast. Their clothes they purchase, for the most part, from abroad. They possess the ordinary aptitude for trade. The cannibal tribes would, of course, refuse hospitality to an intruder from the outside, whom they would regard, in their own phrase, as "man-meat."

But Stanley, with his band of nearly 150 persons, subsisted (though precariously) for months on food obtained by barter from the villages that lined the river-banks. It was not until he and his were involved in the wilderness, amidst inhospitable tribes, at the final cataract barrier near the coast, that they were reduced to starvation until relieved by succour from European friends.

The highway for commerce will of course be the river itself. From the mouth to the foot of the first great barrier of the Livingstone Falls, the short distance is so well navigated as not to require notice here. Above that barrier, that is from Stanley Pool to the second great barrier or Stanley Falls, there is an immense stretch—too long to be called a reach—some 1400 miles long by the course of the channel, extending all round the Great Bend, and lying between the 17th and the 26th degree of east longitude. Almost all, perhaps quite the whole,

of this noble length is navigable. Certainly the greater part of it affords remarkable facilities for navigation. Many thousands of canoes constantly ply on it for trading or for fighting. Beyond Stanley Falls the river is probably navigable for the greater part of the way up to Lake Bemba itself. The formidable barriers of Stanley Falls cause an absolute interruption to anything like a "through" navigation of the river. Such obstacles have been surmounted in other countries by engineering science and by the outlay of capital; these obstacles, too, may be thus surmounted. The first great barrier of the Livingstone Falls, however, is not only formidable, but is also very protracted, extending over 150, perhaps even 200 miles. The second great barrier (at Stanley Falls) is fortunately much less extensive. It, were, perhaps, premature to mention communication by rail; Mr. Stanley, however, has in a recent speech spoken of a possible railway. Indeed the subject of more railways than one has been mooted during the West African Conference at Berlin. It would be interesting to know what line can best be adopted. Apparently the object should be to place the littoral tract in immediate communication with the vast stretch of navigable water above Stanley Pool.

Such, in the briefest terms, being the characteristics of the country and of the people, what is the political situation at present, and how is it likely to

be developed? The inhabitants, though they have local chiefs and in some cases pay tribute, are quite destitute of administrative organization, and have nothing approaching to government. They are, then, at the ultimate disposal, even at the mercy, of civilized Powers. They might, if no safeguards were adopted, become the prey of interested ambition, or of designing intrigue, or of far-sighted adventure. Their productive resources have for ages lain nearly dormant, but are now springing into active life at the touch, not of native-born enterprise, but of foreign exploitation. Their commerce is originated, promoted and financed entirely by individuals or corporations belonging to the white races. Thus there lies in Central Africa a prize, supposed by Europeans to be a very rich one, though perhaps magnified by that sort of imagination which proverbially turns the "ignotum" into the "magnificum." Each one of several Powers seems anxious to snatch or to secure its share in this prize. Perhaps the spectacle of the amazing success of England in India on a vast scale, or of the almost equally signal success of Holland in Java on a much smaller scale, has imbued other European Powers with the idea that they might effect something of the same sort in Central Africa. Perhaps France is burning to recoup herself in this quarter, among several other quarters, for territorial curtailment in Europe or for political losses in Egypt. Perhaps

Germany, having secured at least two first-rate naval positions on her northern sea-coast, having established a small but very efficient navy, and having observed the success of German colonists in North America and Australia, yearns for some colonial dependencies that shall be really German. Perhaps Belgium, searching abroad for neutral markets that shall take her fast-growing manufactures, and shall possibly be free from the over-mastering competition of England, fancies that such a fortunate region may be found in the heart of Africa. Whatever may be the reason, there is just now a concurrence of political elements in and about the Congo, which causes this river-basin to be the cynosure of European eyes, and the observed of all imperial observers. Regretfully noticing this new-born, even abnormal activity, Portugal has been re-asserting claims dating from that era of discovery in the fifteenth century wherein she took a world-renowned part. The ubiquitous England, sorely pre-occupied in divers other regions far away, would fain let the sleeping troubles of Central Africa lie at rest for a while. But, if every one else moves there, she cannot afford to remain motionless. Some of her sons, too, will think that, if this region is by a general apportionment to be carved out into several European dominions, a share must be reserved for the British lion. At all events, she will insist with all her might that the Congo highway shall be kept free

for that commerce on which depend her prosperity at home and her influence abroad.

Despite a general uniformity in the aim of the Powers since the geographical discoveries of Stanley in 1877, there has been some diversity in the procedure adopted by them. Their efforts have been in part directed towards Stanley Pool, on the Congo, just above the West African coast-range, and to the districts up stream from that important point. The districts below this range constitute the littoral region of the Congo, and that region, having been long discovered and explored, has for many years been the seat of trading factories—British, Portuguese, French, German, Dutch. Commercially and politically, as well as geographically, the country below the West African range has been regarded as that of the Lower Congo, and the country above the range as that of the Upper Congo. But ere long the Upper Congo country will probably be subdivided into a middle region in the heart of the continent, and a new Upper Congo nearer the Great Eastern range. Recently, however, Stanley Pool has been, and for the present is, the point of attraction for European politicians.

It was near this point that M. de Brazza hoped to establish a basis of French dominion, planting the French flag, and bestowing the title of “Brazzaville,” upon a group of African huts. Apparently the Gallic policy would be to connect the Stanley

Pool tract with the existing French possessions on the coast north of the Congo, known as the mouths of the lesser rivers Gaboon and Ogowai. It was from this point, near Stanley Pool, that the new corporation known as the International Association began its territorial operations, making arrangements with African chiefs, taking charge of certain tribes, and even hoisting a flag in certain localities. It is round this point that the leading European nations are establishing factories which will soon expand into settlements.

But, keen as may be the interest felt by some European Powers in the Congo, not one of them feels so anxious on this subject as Portugal. Probably her care does not seriously extend beyond the littoral tract between the sea-coast and the West African range. Within this tract, however, she has been sedulously claiming sovereign possession. Her claim extends from the 5th to the 8th degree of south latitude, or a distance of about 300 miles along the coast. It will be remembered that the Congo enters the sea at the 6th degree; therefore she claims one degree north of the river-mouth and two degrees south. The piece of territory north of the river-mouth includes what has been regarded as the small native state of Kadembe, bounded by the little river Kakongo, and adjoining the native state known as Loango; whence it appears that the Loango country is not included in her claim. The

piece of territory south of the river-mouth includes the coast down to Ambriz, the northern limit of her undoubted possessions in Angola: this piece was once a part of the old native kingdom of Congo, but long ago became detached, and has in recent times been held by petty tribes. The territory thus defined on the north by the river Kakongo, on the south by Ambriz of Angola, and on the west by the Atlantic, was to be defined on the east by Noki, a village on the left bank of the Congo, at the foot of the Yellala Falls (or the beginning of the cataract rapids), and opposite the well-known trading station of Vivi, on the right bank. It would hence follow that the eastern limit would be drawn along the base of the West African range, about a hundred miles from the sea-shore. From these data, say 300 miles by 100, an area of 30,000 square miles would be claimed by Portugal. The importance of this claim—which, if admitted, would give her complete sovereign possession of the Congo mouth, and connect that possession with her old possessions in Angola—is too manifest to need discussion. After a long correspondence the Portuguese sovereignty was allowed by the British Government in February 1883. This was done expressly, not as an admission of the claim, but as an act of grace and friendship. A treaty to that effect was prepared. This recognition by England of Portuguese sovereignty over the Congo mouth was not accepted by the other

Powers, and so the treaty became abortive. Thus the question as affecting Portugal remained *in statu quo* for the time. Shortly afterwards proposals began to be circulated by Germany, and arrangements made, for the West African Conference which sat at Berlin.

The proceedings of the Conference, according to the original basis, were kept apart* from matters of sovereignty, dominion, or territorial possession. Though they nevertheless tended more and more towards these matters, still they were mainly concentrated on the freeing of the river-highways from any liability to transit duties leviable by any Power. But the value of this freedom for water traffic may be seriously impaired by a certain railway project, which, though not included in the proceedings of the Conference, was brought forward simultaneously with that meeting. This railway, if constructed, would pass round the series of cataract-rapids between the Yellala Falls (near Noki and Vivi already mentioned) and Stanley Pool. It would thus obviate that long-protracted river-obstruction which is impassable for water traffic.

* It is true that Germany proposed that the Conference should settle the conditions on which new acquisitions by any Power should be rendered effective; but, on being pressed by the British Government for explanation, she explained that this meant only the principles laid down by the jurists and judges of all lands. See *Blue Book*, Africa No. 7 of 1884, p. 15.

Thus it would be an integral and essential part of the through communication between the central basin of the Congo and the coast. If, then, it fell into the hands of a Power opposed to the trade-development of other Powers, it might become the means of restricting that commercial freedom which the Conference ostensibly aimed at securing. Some endeavour seems to have been made during the Conference to enlarge the scope of the proceedings, by including the commercial as well as the geographical area of the Congo and its tributaries. The term "commercial area" is dangerously vague, and might be made to bear an interpretation most objectionable from a British point of view. Happily this proposed enlargement seems to have been stopped, and the Conference confined itself to the geographical area, which, as we have already seen, is vast enough.

Such, then, in brief, is the political situation now existing. There is an enormous region beyond the range of mountains running near the West African coast. It extends from that range to the range running near the East African coast, and thus comprises the inland regions of the continent. It is traversed by a vast system of navigable rivers. It has a dark-complexioned population, which, though not dense, may prove to be considerable. Its people are incapable of self-government, and may fall under the control of civilized white races. Under such

control, its trade and resources may expand to an extent practically indefinite. Several European Powers are casting ambitious eyes upon it; we might almost say that some are nibbling and others grasping at it. A European Conference assembled, apparently to determine that the trade of the river-system shall be free to all flags. But the value of this freedom to trade is doubtful, until the terms be settled on which a railway is to be constructed across the West African range between the central basin and the sea-coast. There yet remains the littoral region between this range and the Atlantic shore. The sovereignty of this region was claimed by Portugal; this claim was allowed by England, but not by the other Powers; it was not considered by the Conference, and perhaps was held in suspense; but action will be taken upon it, unless other Powers interpose.

Thus the plot of what may possibly be a great drama is thickening. What further denouement is likely to take place? What lessons for the future are derivable from the past and present of this great affair?

In the first instance, a possible embarrassment of a serious kind was avoided by the Conference, when it threw out the proposal to include the commercial area of the Congo, and restricted the question to the geographical basin. Even with this restriction the basin is enormous, because the tribu-

taries as well as the main river are included, and we have already shown how vast its geographical dimensions are. The casual observer would exclaim, that surely this must be enough to satisfy the most comprehensive grasp; would suppose that, in such a case, the commercial and geographical limits are practically the same; and would wonder what the proposal to include the commercial area can reasonably mean. Well, it may prove to have an ominous, even a sinister, significance, in this wise. The head waters of the Congo come, as we have already seen, primarily from Lake Bemba. Now, this lake is at a very considerable distance inland. Though ultimately accessible by water from the west, still at present it cannot be approached otherwise than from the East African coast, distant about 700 miles; indeed it was discovered by British explorers who started from that coast as their base. Next, Lake Tanganika is more accessible; from its eastern shore the country rises high, and then falls, in a series of four natural steps, down to the coast of Zanzibar. The lake, indeed, has been approached by British discoverers starting from Zanzibar, Stanley himself being among them. The routes are becoming known, and such knowledge conduces to trade. Indeed the Zanzibar traders have stations or markets, notably Ujiji on the western shore. Though the region between the lake and the coast really comprises the great East African range, and

is in parts rugged or arid, still it has resources which may increase. A consideration of the political geography of the East African coast would shew that Zanzibar is one of the greatest, if not absolutely the greatest, commercial centre in Eastern Africa. It is the base for all operations between the seashore and the Tanganika Lake, also the Bemba Lake as civilization shall advance inland. Now, it is superfluous to call to mind that Zanzibar, though not British territory, is under British control, or to recapitulate the steps whereby in recent times that control has been established, and the manner in which it is exercised for the benefit of all concerned.

Under these circumstances the proposal to find a possible commercial area of the Congo must apparently be designed to control hereafter the trade connected with Lake Tanganika. And, as the Tanganika trade of the future will probably be connected with Zanzibar, then this proposal must have been meant to affect Zanzibar. But anything which even distantly or indirectly affects Zanzibar is an interference with just British interests. At this moment such considerations seem remote. But to the author of the proposal (whoever he was) they must have seemed near enough to be worthy of forethought. In short, the proposal must have been meant for something; if it was not meant for

the Zanzibar trade, then let its author, or authors, explain what it was meant for.

Our apprehension, however, is confirmed by the fact, that a mixed society of Belgians and Germans, styled the "Association Internationale Africaine," did send some representatives from Zanzibar, in 1877, to establish a commercial station at Karewa, on the western shore of the Tanganika Lake. This "Association" is not indeed to be confounded with the International Association of which the fame is now ringing through Europe. It may have been the precursor of, or it may have become merged in, the International Association.* At all events, the International Association is the only corporation with which politicians have nowadays to deal.

Now, this discussion about a commercial area, together with other discussions that more or less engaged the attention of the Conference, may have emanated from, or may be in some way connected with, the International Association. Some nine years ago this Association was nothing more than a select company of geographers, philanthropists, and scientists, headed by the King of the Belgians in his private capacity. Having apparently been recognized by the United States and Germany, perhaps also by other Powers, it has now been

* See pamphlet entitled "White Line across Dark Continent," p. 14.

recognized by England—the said recognition being among the “sequelæ” of the West African Conference at Berlin. There is a want of authentic and specific statements regarding its objects, its constitution, its allegiance, its nationality, its administration, its government. It is perhaps only a private corporation, headed by Mr. Stanley; but in that case how comes it to have been sanctioned by the King of Belgium,* and to have been supported (if public statements are to be credited) by the American delegate at the Conference? The United States can hardly be supporting it in order to found American dominions in Central Africa: is it then to be considered a Belgian corporation? Or if it be not Belgian, then is it to be regarded as belonging to no nationality at all? If it have no nationality, and if it be made up (as perhaps the title “International” may imply) of individuals from several nations, how is a body of private persons, some subjects of existing Sovereigns, some citizens of existing Republics, to set up a territorial jurisdiction for itself? If such a body elects one person to be its chief, Mr. Stanley or another—or, as appears to have been lately suggested, a prince of the house of Leopold—how is he to be recognised as the representative of an independent Power or of a new State? Such a recognition seems

* *Blue Book, Africa* No. 2 of 1884, p. 38.

actually to have taken place on the part of England as well as of other Powers. It is true, indeed, that elsewhere corporations, originally private, have ended in winning territorial positions, and even in founding empires. Such corporations have done, and are still doing, all this. But they have been connected with a nation, have borne allegiance to a Sovereign or to a State, and have obtained royal charters or other sanction from pre-existing authority. In the absence of these sanctions, however, the International Association undertakes to acquire territory, to treat with native tribes, to control trade by land, and even to display symbols of authority. It does not profess allegiance to any tribal chief; on the contrary, it acts quite independently of any native authority. Having been recognized as an independent State by several of the European Powers, under the designation of a "Free State," it was believed to intend (perhaps in return for such recognition) to transfer as by a valid title a part of its so-called territorial acquisitions. And England has been recommended to join in this recognition. At all events, reports, apparently unofficial, stated that a mutual declaration (styled a Convention) was exchanged between the British Government and the Association. This instrument assures freedom of trade, of domicile, of religion, to all foreigners; secures to British subjects and traders the treatment of the most favoured nation;

provides for the appointment of British Consuls, and for the exercise by them of jurisdiction in litigation affecting British subjects until the Association shall have courts of its own; and stipulates that, in the event of any part of the Association's present territory being alienated, British subjects shall enjoy under the transferee all the privileges which they would have enjoyed under the Association.

According to a declaration made on the 2nd of November 1885, the status and proceedings of the Association were not to fall under the deliberations of the Berlin Conference.* Nevertheless, these very subjects were handled by the Conference, at least informally. And the Conference ended in strengthening considerably the position of the Association, and in maturing territorial arrangements. The Association having been recognized by the principal Powers, with one exception, wished to have its territories defined and "neutralized." The exception was France, and that Power objected to nearly all that the Association was asking for. There is indeed doubt as to what the Association meant by "neutralization." Probably it meant, that its territories, having been defined, were to be guaranteed as inviolable by the Powers that granted "recognition." If this was the meaning, then France in all probability would not agree

* Africa No. 7 of 1884, p. 17.

thereto. She did not approve of the proceedings of the Association, and is believed to have had designs of her own on the very territories which the Association hopes to occupy. The centre of the Association's work is on the left or south bank of Stanley Pool, at Leopoldville, called after its royal patron in Brussels. But France, believing herself to be mistress of the north bank of the famous Pool, apparently demanded the south bank also. If the Association yielded that, it might as well, in Stanley's words, "bid a long good-night to the Congo basin." France, however, seemed willing to leave the Association undisturbed on the south bank upon a certain condition. Now, this condition was to the effect, that French acquisition shall extend over the right or north bank, not only of Stanley Pool, but of the whole Congo from that point downwards to the river's mouth, and over a piece of coast from the mouth northwards by a hundred miles to a place named Rudolfstadt.

Irrespectively of the Association, this rapid inflation of French claims may well awaken the attention of Europe. On what are they founded? Why, on the agreements which De Brazza made several years ago with a chief named Mukoko, who dwelt near the right bank above Stanley Pool, and has since died. Unfortunately, those agreements were ratified by the French Chambers at the time. The authority of this chief was of the rudest and vaguest character.

Its existence south of the river is stoutly denied by the natives there. Indeed, the territorial position of the tribes and their chiefs is so shifting and fitful, that no agreement made with them can be a valid basis of acquisition by a civilized Power. The condition of society is not such as to render a tribal chief competent for such an arrangement as a territorial transfer. Something more than this shadowy authorization is needed to make an acquisition effective. Whether England puts forth any claims of her own or not,—whether she sees fit to befriend the Association or not,—she should at all events try to prevent a limitless extension of nominal sovereignty by France without any substantial occupation having been attempted.

Again, speculation seems to be rife in some quarters regarding European colonization in the Congo basin. But it entirely remains to be seen whether such colonization is possible. It must be remembered, that the position of the Congo at its mouth has six degrees of south latitude and two degrees of north latitude at its middle course. In other words, the climate is about the same as that of Ceylon and Zanzibar,—places where colonization is never contemplated for Europeans. In Ceylon there are mountainous localities, with several thousand feet of altitude; these have European landowners and plantation managers, but not colonists. The Congo in its middle course has an altitude from

1,200 to 1,500 feet above the sea-level; this is much less than the height of the Ceylon mountains. Greater altitudes indeed are obtained in the upper course of the river nearer to Lakes Tanganika and Bemba. But at the river's source in Lake Bemba, the point furthest from the Equator, the latitude shows only eleven degrees south; in other words, the position is in the warmest half of the tropic of Capricorn. The climate of the Congo, then, militates against or almost precludes any practical idea of colonization. Europeans may manage, supervise, administer, govern there; they may do as Englishmen have done and are doing in India, but not as the Australians, or the Canadians, or the Cape colonists do. It is true that some Boers have recently settled as colonists in the Angola territory under Portuguese auspices; but that has occurred in the hills of Mossamedes in the 16th degree of south latitude; and even there, if they are really colonists, they must find the climate too hot out of doors unless they employ native labour, as they doubtless will.

Lastly, there is the unsatisfied claim of Portugal, as already mentioned, to the sovereignty of the Lower Congo. This claim was not indeed formally allowed by the European Powers. England also said that she has never receded, and does not now recede, from her contention, that the claim is not established. She was prepared to recognise it

only "out of friendship."* Of course Portugal affirms her right to be "incontestable," on the grounds of "priority of discovery, continuity of possession, and numerous treaties, general and special."† But of these grounds the only one that would be held good is the "priority of discovery," dating so far back as the sixteenth century, when the "Padrao," or landmark, was set' up at the Congo mouth, of which mark the name survives to this day. But that is of no validity unless it has been followed by continuity of possession. Such continuity, so far from being proved, according to the Portuguese contention, is actually disproved by the course of events during several generations, and by the manifest condition of affairs. As for the bearing of "treaties" upon this subject, this Portuguese construction would be denied by all diplomatists and jurists outside Portugal. The policy of allowing the sovereignty of Portugal has been earnestly challenged by several bodies in England that are well informed in African affairs—namely, the Chambers of Commerce at Manchester and Bradford, the Liverpool African Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Anti-Slavery Association.‡ Their objections relate to want of liberality, to feebleness and pettiness, to interference with

* Africa No. 2 of 1884, p. 13.

† Ibid. p. 5.

‡ Africa No. 5 of 1884, *passim*.

trade by imposts and local regulations, to religious intolerance, on the part of the Portuguese authorities. That such things should nowadays be said regarding Portugal is a matter of friendly regret to those who remember the mighty part she once played in maritime discovery in Asia, Africa, and South America ; but it were vain to evoke historic sentiment as a reason for handing over to Portugal large territories which she is not competent to manage properly.

On the whole, then, on the Congo, from mouth to source, the political situation has been developing and is likely further to develop itself, in a manner which every one must admit to be most grave with respect to British interests. Whatever may be the conflicting opinions regarding free-trade, fair-trade, protection, imperial federation for commerce, and the like, all will agree respecting the extreme importance of finding and fostering neutral markets for British manufactures, whither exports may pass unrestricted by protective and prohibitory duties and unimpeded by local regulations. The Congo basin is *par excellence* a possible market of this character, which, if other Powers had not intervened, would have formed a large outlet for British trade. It may still prove to be such an outlet, inasmuch as freedom of trade for all flags has been declared by the West African Conference at Berlin ; and doubtless among those flags the " Union Jack "

will hold there the same high place that it has held in every other part of the globe. But experience has often shown that, despite such general declarations, trade may be hampered or fettered if the dominion or the territorial administration should fall into exclusive, illiberal, or unfriendly hands. They may be too sanguine, who feel secure in the general assurance of a Conference to the effect that the immunities of British trade will remain untouched if the whole length of the Congo valley shall be parcelled out among various Powers—one piece, say, to Portugal, one to France, one to Germany, and several pieces to the International Association. Yet some such parcelling out seems likely to happen; and it will require all the firmness and vigilance that England can exert to maintain fully the rights of British trade. Of course, England might herself claim a share in the apportionment. Of all the participating Powers none has so good a title as she, and some will think that she will be obliged to do this, notwithstanding her unwillingness to augment her wide-spread possessions. On the other hand,—with all the cares of her world-wide empire, with the constant accretions incidental to such a dominion, with the recent additions to imperial responsibility in Egypt, New Guinea, and elsewhere,—she may well pause before embarking on a fresh territorial career on the Congo, unless she is driven thereto by the current of events. But,

if she hesitates, then she must be prepared to see others come forward whose avocations and pre-occupations are not so numerous as hers. She could hardly object with good grace, as the rôle of dog in the manger is proverbially an invidious one to play.

A striking instance of the ease with which the principle of freedom for trade might be infringed and its just consequences evaded is seen in the railway project to which we have already alluded. If a British administrator, hypothetically, were placed in charge of the Congo basin, the primary thing for him to recommend would be the construction of a railway round the first series of cataract-rapids. The same idea has, of course, presented itself to those who are now interested in Congo affairs, and doubtless they will essay to bring about that realization which would certainly be effected if the project were in British hands. The distance to be traversed hardly exceeds 200 miles; the height of hill or upland to be surmounted is not more than 1,200 feet. Rugged rocky tracts will be encountered, but traders and travellers have marched across these, and a suitable alignment would soon be found by the engineers. Indeed three alternative lines have already been suggested. Without such a railway there will be an interruption between the traffic of the Middle and the Lower Congo, with an intermediate space of tedious

and expensive land transit. But by the construction of such a railway the coast region will be placed in cheap and rapid communication with the country beyond the cataract-rapids. If the line were to fall into the hands of British promoters, engineers, and capitalists, then all might be well for British trade. But it is likely, under existing circumstances, to fall into other hands. Now, suppose the owners of the railway desired to exclude British trade, or to favour some other trade to the disadvantage of the British, how easily might rates of freight and other local regulations be devised to fulfil this desire! The traffic of railways, as yet unmade, did not apparently fall within the purview of the West African Conference at Berlin. The proceedings referred only to traffic by water. It is conceivable, then, that British trade might be unimpeded (according to the arrangements made by the Conference) from the coast to the foot of the cataract-rapids, and further from the head of the cataract-rapids (say Stanley Pool) onwards inland; but that between the foot and the head of the cataract-rapids an awkward gap might prove to have been contrived by railway regulations made for the harassing and embarrassment of British traders. If this were to happen—which may Providence forefend—then the freedom of trade declared at the Conference might become in some degree delusive. Therefore let England look warily towards this

railway project, which is in itself excellent, lest it should be somehow manipulated to her injury.

Cognate to this topic is the project which the French are understood to be preparing for a railway from the Ogowai River to Stanley Pool. Near the Equator on the west coast, about 400 miles north of the Congo mouth, are the two neighbouring rivers of the Gaboon and Ogowai, and the section of coast between the two rivers belongs to France. The rivers intersect the West African range to which we have several times alluded, and, following their courses, the French penetrate through the range to the central uplands beyond. Now the upward course of the Ogowai runs southward in the direction of Stanley Pool, and indeed takes its source among the hills not very far from the pool. By this line, then, a railway could be made by the French from the coast by the Ogowai valley to Stanley Pool, a distance of about 600 miles through a country probably favourable. If this were done, Stanley Pool would be placed in communication by rail with the French section of the coast. The pool will, of course, be the main *depôt* or *entrepôt* for the water traffic of the Congo; consequently the importance of this French railway project can be imagined. It would be a direct competitor with the other railway project which we have just mentioned, from the Congo coast round the cataract-rapids to Stanley Pool; the Congo project would

comprise a length of about 400 miles, the Gaboon-Ogowai project a length of 600 miles. In military phrase, the French project would turn the flank of the Lower Congo, and would draw the Upper Congo traffic to French ports, checkmating the efforts of other Powers to bring that traffic to its natural port at the Congo mouth. This result would, of course, be very adverse to England. Much may depend on priority of commencement; if the Congo project is begun first, that may preclude the French project. It is well that England should weigh this, in reference to the disagreeable alternative which may await her if she holds back.

The future of the International Association must be a matter of anxiety for England, unless indeed the corporation shall fall into the hands of Englishmen. Heretofore the Association seems to have sought support from other governments before the British Government, and to have looked towards other countries rather than towards England. Or perhaps it may be found to have virtually offered its services to England and to have been repelled. We hope, if the reports of its political status be officially confirmed, that its conduct will be such as to deserve the favour of England. But this hope, like too many other hopes, may be disappointed. Perhaps this extraordinary corporation may become an engine of territorial aggrandisement in the hands of other powers. We should speak as kindly and

charitably as we can of other nations, but it were futile to anticipate a millennium when there shall be no more jealousy, no more ambition. It is but natural that neighbouring Powers should be jealous of "the expansion of England" in divers quarters of the world, and should be glad to keep her out of Central Africa if they can. To imagine that they think otherwise, would be to display the unwisdom of the ostrich blinding its vision in the sands of self-delusion. Foreign politicians are guarding loyally the interests of their respective countries in Central Africa; and English politicians should guard with equal loyalty the interests of their country in that newly-discovered quarter.

One way of guarding these British interests is to watch the "delimitation" of the area which was subjected to the deliberations of the Berlin Conference, or was noted in the proceedings incidental thereto. It is noteworthy that, in the documents conveying the recognition of some European Powers to the International Association, allusion is apparently made to a map of "delimitation" for the lands or districts belonging to the Association. Allusion to this map is, however, said to be omitted from the document conveying the recognition of the British Government. Perhaps there may have been a reason for this omission; the British representative may have wisely refrained from committing his Government to any acknowledgment of this map;

and possibly the Association may be found to have embraced in one sweep the greater part of Central Africa. It may be well that England should reserve to herself the right of questioning hereafter, if need be, any such comprehensive demarcation on paper. Thus the British recognition would be confined to the possessions of the Association, not in assertion, but in fact, not on charts hypothetically, but on the ground actually. Experience in Central Asia has often shown the embarrassments arising from the preparation of political maps which are disputed by those concerned. The lesson should not be lost upon us in dealing with Central Africa.

It is in regard to these considerations that England should diligently object to any enlargement of the area contemplated by the West African Conference. We have already adverted to the distinction between the geographical and the commercial area. The West African Conference very properly adhered to the geographical limitation, and rejected the inclusion of indefinite commercial limits. So far well: the so-called commercial area is excluded; but the basin of the Congo, with its tributaries, is included, and this is now seen to be enormous enough. The Congo, in its main stream up to Nangwe, near the junction of the Luama and past that junction under the name of the Lualaba, is clearly recognizable up to its true source in Lake Bemba. Regarding the tributaries, there is no doubt as to their navigable

streams, near their respective points of confluence with the main river, though most of their sources remain to be explored. To this general description, however, there may be one particular exception,—namely, that of the Luindi. We have already described this affluent of the Congo; showing that its source is really in the hills which border Lake Tanganika, and is not truly derived from the lake itself. Subsequently to the great journeys of Livingstone and Stanley, the question whether the lake gives birth to any river running westwards has been carefully discussed by geographers, with the assistance of the travellers Cameron and Thompson. The best geographical opinion is that the Luindi does not rise in the lake, though it does, at intervals of time, receive some surplus waters overflowing from the lake in moments of extraordinary floods. The ordinary, regular, and permanent source of this river is found, not in the lake, but in the adjacent hills. The river Luindi, then, as a tributary of the Congo, may have come within the purview of the West African Conference; but that purview should extend only up to the ordinary source of the river in the hills near Lake Tanganika, and not up to the shore of the lake itself. Otherwise the western shore of the lake might be brought within the scope of the Conference; and to that England ought to object strongly. She should not allow, if she can possibly prevent it, any Power or any Asso-

ciation or any Corporation to interfere with the territorial management of the Tanganika Lake; for the region of that lake is connected with the dominions of Zanzibar, which are politically under British control. By her acquiescence in the meeting of the West African Conference at Berlin, by recognizing the International Association, by submitting the whole basin of the Congo and its tributaries to Europe in council, England has surely yielded enough. She may be even thought to have abated her just pretensions to a degree that is justifiable only by reason of her pre-occupations elsewhere and the vastness of the empire which is already hers. At all events, she has accepted an agreement, and must now make the best of it. Perhaps she has been right in so doing; but, having done this, let her yield not an inch more. Let her make a stand somewhere; let her plant her foot on the western margin of Lake Tanganika,—that lake which was revealed to the gaze of civilization by British courage and resource—saying, Thus far and no farther.

If this view is taken, the case after all may not be very bad for England in Central Africa. From Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo the line runs almost exactly straight from east to west, and is 1800 English miles in length from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. Of this length the first 600 miles extend from Zanzibar to the western shore of Lake Tanganika, and the remaining 1200 miles from that

shore to the Congo mouth. In other words, the West African Conference at Berlin dealt with just two-thirds of Central Africa; the remainder, or one-third, is still open to British control, resting on the political base of Zanzibar. We hope that England will insist on this much at least. Even then, however, the two-thirds which have fallen under the purview of the Conference include the finest and richest portions of the Central African zone.

Over the Congo region there still hangs the dark shadow of slavery. The suppression of the slave trade was among the declared objects of the abortive treaty between England and Portugal. Much will doubtless have been said, and something will have been written on this subject at the West African conference. We are not concerned here to determine how far the abolition or prohibition declared in 1878 by the Portuguese Government in Angola has been efficacious, for that is beyond the Congo region. Meanwhile, regarding the Congo itself, Mr. H. H. Johnston gives the following testimony as applicable to the year 1884:—

“Slavery certainly exists on the Lower Congo as much as it ever did; the only difference is that, owing to the vigilance of British cruisers, slaves are no longer exported as in former days. . . . Any traveller who visits the factories on the Lower Congo—except perhaps those belonging to the

English—may see groups of slaves in chains, who are so punished for having run away.”

It would seem, however, that the slaves are for the most part comfortable, having their families with them, and are well treated, though, if they run away, they are severely flogged on recapture. But if the evils of slavery are mitigated on the west coast of the Congo region, they exist with all their horror in the eastern region of the river. The evidence given by Livingstone on this subject is quite terrific. The hunting of men, women and children, as if they were the beasts of the forest, the sacking of peaceful villages, the wrecking of industrious homes, the dragging of human creatures through the wilderness shackled together and confined with wooden collars, the slaughtering on the spot of those who grow too faint even to crawl, the abandoning of whole parties in their shackles and their collars to starve slowly, are deeds which must provoke the wrath of Heaven against the doers. The basis of these abominable operations is the Zanzibar coast, despite all the preventive efforts of England. Indignation against this atrocity was among the masterful sentiments that nerved and braced the resolution of Livingstone to persevere in his work.

Perhaps the irruption of European forces, social and political, into Central Africa, may check, if not

stop, the old evils, and may spread the mild sway of the true religion, substituting a reasonable faith for the fetish of superstition. The Portuguese have long had religious missions in this quarter. The French have recently established a mission in the neighbourhood of Stanley Pool, apparently in connection with the existing Catholic churches on the coast north of the Congo. Among the Protestant communities the Baptists have been the first labourers in this vineyard of the Lord, and possess several stations or centres, which are efficiently managed. Some well-informed observers have, indeed, averred that the African character is too frivolous and puerile to be permanently impressed by any conviction, spiritual or other. Such observations are obviously shallow; the Africans do, indeed, materialise almost all the conceptions which they form, and that impresses a casual observer unfavourably at first sight. On the other hand, this tendency indicates a strength of imagination and of sentiment, which renders them receptive of religious ideas. Be this as it may, the Christian world remembers that these poor people have souls to be saved, and that Gospel-preaching to all races, without distinction of character or aptitude, is commanded by Divine authority.

The labours of the Berlin Conference in 1885 were intricate and doubtful from the multiplicity of the interests and claims involved, the difficulty of exclud-

ing political questions, and the uncertainty of any settlement which may dispose of these questions satisfactorily.* Amidst these issues, Stanley clearly defined the points which he regards as essential, both for the International Association and for the freedom of English commerce. These are, in his own words: "first, recognition; secondly, settlement of frontier; thirdly, neutralisation, to make us secure against attack. If," he said, "the Conference breaks up before the question between us and France is settled, we are ruined. If it fails in its endeavours to settle these three things, why then—farewell to the Congo basin, and a long good night to it."

* During 1885 some progress has been made with the internal organization of the Congo Free State. Its police arrangements, however, are still in the inchoate stage. Its frontier adjoining the French possessions has not yet been settled. The continuity of the succession to the headship of the State has not yet been provided for. This is important, in reference to the ambition of some European Powers. A project has been set on foot for a railway, starting from the coast and passing round the Falls to Stanley Pool. But territorial questions may arise regarding the starting point. Portugal has retained possession of the country around the Congo mouth.

CHAPTER XVI.

AMERICAN CHARACTERISTICS.

Divisions of the subject—Scenery, people, trade and industry, politics—The scenery, the Hudson, the Mississippi basin, approach to the Rocky Mountains—The region inside the Rocky Mountains, the Salt Lake, and prairie plateau—The Geyser valley—California and San Francisco—The Yosemite valley—The “Big Trees”—The people—Their frankness and generosity—Their fearlessness—Their national safety—Their toleration of abuses—Their individuality—Their inventiveness—Their religion and education—The beginning of their culture—The tone of their society—The prospects of their civilization—Their feeling towards Britain as their motherland—Their trade and industry—Their protective tariff—The condition of their artisans—Their agricultural progress—Their politics—The system in each State—The combination of States in a Federal Union—The profession of a politician—The Civil Service reform—The two parties of Democrats and Republicans—The main questions of the time—Ultimate difference between the two parties—Transfer of power from one to the other.

I PURPOSE in this essay to state briefly the opinions formed by me during two lengthened journeys in

the United States in 1882 and 1884, both years being distinguished by general elections, one of which was for the House of Representatives, the other for the Presidency, both, too, affording many occasions for social and political observations.* I find much to love and admire in America and the Americans, and have seen something of their inner life at its best. Therefore my sketch of them in broad outline is drawn by a friendly hand. Still the faults which may detract from the virtues and merits will be indicated. If the net result of my account shall appear very favourable, still it is well that the evidence on behalf of a great and kindred nation should be heard at a time when much criticism is launched in a Trans-Atlantic direction.

* In 1882 I journeyed through New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, and Kansas, visiting Richmond, Washington, St. Louis, crossing the Mississippi and the Missouri. During that journey I witnessed a general election for the House of Representatives, and many of the local elections which took place at the same time—attending of course political meetings on both sides of party politics. In 1884 I re-visited most of these places. But further I visited the newly-formed States near the north-west border. I also traversed the region of the Rocky Mountains and visited California. Having done this I returned to the Central and Eastern States in time to witness the contest for the Presidency between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland, again attending political meetings of both parties, and becoming acquainted with many leading men on both sides. Large opportunities have thus been afforded me for studying the United States.

My evidence * is quite general in its character, not being in the least encyclopædic. And my report will be a study only, relating to those points which were imprinted on my mind during two extensive journeys. It will relate mainly to the northern, and but very slightly to the southern States.

This vast subject may naturally be divided into four parts :

- The scenery ;
- The people ;
- The trade and industry ;
- The politics.

In the first place, then, I advert to the scenery.

The eastern coast of the United States will appear tame in aspect to a voyager approaching by the Atlantic ; and the character of the mountain range behind the coast, the Alleghany, is not remarkable on the whole, though it has some fine features here and there. But after leaving New York he finds himself passing by river steamer over the broad bosom of the Hudson. Then he views a scene of which all American citizens are justly proud. On a fine autumnal morning the Hudson does indeed—with the broad expanse of glassy water reflecting

* This essay is composed partly of a paper which I wrote in 1883, at the request of the *North American Review* in New York, partly also of an address delivered at Evesham, in Worcestershire, in 1885.

sky and cloud, the overhanging crags, the many-hued foliage, the rugged and precipitous rock-formations on one bank, the elegant villas and sloping lawns on the opposite bank, the sailing boats and small craft, the stately and painted steamers, the movement of human animation in the midst of nature's loveliness—present one of the fairest spectacles to be seen on the earth's surface. Not on any other river or strait—not on Ganges or Indus, on the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus, on the Danube or the Rhine, on the Neva or the Nile—have I ever observed so fairy-like a scene as on the Hudson. The only water-view to rival it is that of the Sea of Marmora opposite Constantinople.

The foliage of autumn (called "the fall") has a variegated richness never, or hardly ever, observed in Europe. So bright is the colouring of the leaves at that season, that at first sight one might almost mistake them for flowers. Reds and purples, maroons and russets, yellows and orange-tints, are blended and comingled in wild profusion.

Crossing the Alleghany range, we enter on the central plain of the United States, which really is the joint basin of the Mississippi and the Missouri. It is hard for untravelled Englishmen to form an idea of this vast expanse. There is no parallel to be found in Europe save perhaps in the steppe of Russia. But the steppe is in a large part uncultivated. Whereas this plain, once the primeval

prairie, is now cultivated, and supplies much of that cheap grain for England which lowers the price of English produce. Having crossed the Mississippi and the Missouri, we ascend towards the Rocky Mountains. But the ascent is so imperceptibly gradual that we reach a height of 7,000 feet (above sea-level) and still fancy ourselves on the plain. But we are actually on an elevated plateau at the base of the Rocky Mountains. Of that plateau the capital is the fast-rising city of Denver, whence we obtain our first view of the Rocky mountains, raising their snow-tipped summits against the western horizon for 150 miles.* The famous view of the Bernese Oberland, with its long series of snowy peaks, is contracted in comparison with this view of the Rockies, as they are familiarly called. Nevertheless the Rockies, which are hereabouts from 14 to 15,000 feet above sea level, do not seem so lofty, because half their height is subtracted from them to the eye of the spectator who is standing on a plateau 7,000 feet high.

Then we penetrate "the Rockies" by the Denver and Colorado Railway, which the Americans call "the scenic line," by reason of its picturesqueness. From the great uplands behind this, the eastern, face of

* This view from Denver may be compared with the view from Calgary, in North-west Canada, mentioned in Chapter III. p. 62. Of the two the Canadian view is the most beautiful.

the Rockies there rise streams which break through that face, rushing on their headlong course to join the Missouri. Thus river-passages are formed; and of these the engineers take advantage in order to construct their railways. These noble rifts or chasms bear the generic name of cañon—of Mexican origin. So the railway-line passes through one of these cañons; plunging into the mountain recesses, between dark scarps on either side like giant walls, with pinnacles piercing the sky. The effect is at first over-powering on the mind of the traveller, who, after monotonously traversing many hundred miles of plain, is suddenly whirled into the very savagery of Nature.

Thence we enter on the central table-land of the Rocky Mountains, in which is situate the Salt Lake region of Mormonism. This is now the veritable prairie of the United States; and is from 6 to 10,000 feet above sea-level. It is a rainless region, with a wild, weird, and wondrous appearance, being environed by mountain ranges that intercept the moisture-laden clouds. The sky overhead is pale-blue and cloudless; the vegetation under foot is generally drab-coloured or ochre-tinted; the horizon is bounded by black-rock peaks, capped with snow. I have driven with relays of horses for a hundred miles and more over this prairie, without seeing any human habitation, or any living creature save antelopes and prairie-fowl. As above stated, the surface

of the prairie has for many months the colour of withered vegetation, as modified by the atmosphere to the spectator at a distance. In the spring the vegetation must be greenish, with many wild flowers, too, after the snow clears away. In the autumn, however, for a very few weeks—perhaps only for a few days—it is described as assuming the most gorgeous colours, the vast expanse seeming to bloom, blush, and redden.

Like the Dead Sea of Palestine, the Salt Lake is encircled with beautiful mountains. The situation of the Salt Lake City reminds one of the Andalusian Granada. But it is impossible to enjoy external beauty there, because thoughts will arise of the polygamy and the debasing superstition which have scandalized that territory. There is also the fear of the troubles which may beset the Federal Government in its righteous efforts to suppress these malpractices. Still, we cannot but feel some admiration, mixed with pity, for the energy, the thrift, and misguided resolution of the peasants, who bear an oppressive load of taxation for the sake of their elders and their tabernacle, and yet contrive to prosper. It is melancholy to learn on the spot, that the ranks of Mormonism are constantly recruited by emigrants from the western counties of England.

The region which the Americans truly call “the wonderland” of the Rocky Mountains is the Yellowstone Park, a district several thousand square miles

in extent. This district has one superb cañon, where the scarred and splintered rocks assume fantastically all the finest forms of Gothic architecture, and display delicate hues of pink, lilac, orange, at times almost "incardined" in the brilliant sunlight. The effect, too, is heightened by the sheen of cascades, and by the deep-blue depths of the river-pools. All this, however, beautiful though it be, can be matched in several parts of Colorado.

The special feature of the Yellowstone region consists of the two valleys of the geysers. The upper of these valleys contains these natural fountains in a great number, arising from sulphurous and volcanic exhalations. There is a long valley, hemmed in on both sides by dark fir-forests. In the midst runs a stream, of which the bluish water flows in marked contrast with the banks. Its sides are covered with incrustations of sulphur, displaying many variations of the chromatic scale in orange and red. For some miles, at frequent intervals along these banks, there are perpetually issuing pillars of bluish smoke. Occasionally these atmospheric columns are interrupted by violent eruptions of boiling water, rising to 60, 100, even 200 feet sometimes, and termed geysers. The effect is, at the first moment, the same as that of the celebrated fountains at Versailles, or at our own Crystal Palace. But the resemblance is only momentary. For, the water of the artificial fountains, being cold, has a temperature

similar to that of the air. Whereas the water of these natural fountains is excessively hot, and, being forcefully projected into the cold air of that elevated region, turns instantly to steam. Thus a mass of water is jerked up as a silver jet at its base, and becomes a cloud of rolling vapour at its top. The effect is enhanced by the dark-green background of firs and pines. The geysers, too, burst forth from volcanic craters, which, being generally filled with water bubbling and simmering from heat, become natural cauldrons. The sides of the cauldrons, being sulphurous, have rich warm colours on the scale of orange and red. The water has from its nature a bluish colour. The sides, then, seen through the transparent water have a qualified colour, the orange-reds as modified by the blues. The chromatic effect is exquisite in the highest degree, almost equalling the hues of the prism. Taking all its beauties in combination, I have never seen so wonderful a place as this Geyser Valley.

The region of the Rocky Mountains has a western face confronting the Pacific Ocean, and running (though at a very considerable distance) parallel to the eastern face already described. We descend from this western face by a railway through long wooden corridors erected to protect the line from snow-drifts, towards California and the Pacific coast. Our feeling is very much like that of the traveller descending from the Alpine summits to the

sunny plains of Lombardy, and passing in a few hours from desolation to fertility.

The Californian sea-port and metropolis, San Francisco, has a maritime situation of noble proportions, with several ranges of mountains visible in various degrees of distance. Its harbour is a wide lake of salt-water, shaped somewhat like a vast bottle of which the neck opens into and communicates with the Pacific Ocean. This neck, so to speak, is called "the Golden Gates," because the spectator, looking through it as by perspective, westwards, sees at the end of the vista the setting sun, which causes the western sky and the sea to be blended together, as if in a flood of molten gold. Inside this spacious harbour the shipping from all nations can ride secure. When we contemplate this situation, which is a halfway place in the circuit of the globe, was acquired by the Great Republic from Mexico, we can understand the grandeur of American ambition. There is only one place in the British empire to be compared with San Francisco, and that is Bombay; only two places in Europe, and they are Constantinople and Lisbon.

The gem of California and of the American continent—indeed one of the gems of the world—is the Yosemite valley, which lies enclosed in the eastern range of the Rocky Mountains. The base of this far-famed valley is as level as a floor or a bowling green, and along it carriages can be driven at full

speed. This narrow winding space is permeated by a stream, with glassy pools overhung by umbrageous pines, at one place expanding into a small sheet, which, from the perfect character of its reflections, is named "The Mirror Lake." The narrow vale is shut in on all sides by precipitous granite rocks rising straight and sheer to altitudes of 5 to 7000 feet, and assuming all the finest shapes known to imaginative art, serrated and castellated styles, cupolas, towers, gables, pinnacles, obelisks. The best of these shapes is that known as "the half-dome," where, from some geological cause, the rock has originally been fully dome-shaped. Then some volcanic force has cleft the rock, rending it in twain, and leaving one half-dome to rear its superb head for ages to come. Over these stupendous cliffs cascades come tumbling. The largest of them, divided into two parts of sheer fall, has a total descent of 3000 feet. Another, from its grace and elegance, is named "the bridal veil." By moonlight the shadow of the cliffs on one side of the valley will be projected markedly upon the surface of the cliffs on the opposite side.

The valley is indeed grandly wooded, but "the Big Trees," which are perhaps thought of in connection with it, are not situated in or near its limits, but are at some distance off. These famed trees (the Sequoia of Indians, the Wellingtonia Gigantea of Europeans), have a reality quite equal to the most

high-flying description that may have been given of them. When we view with one comprehensive glance the head branches and trunks of the largest among them, "the Grisly Giant," as he is named, and the other sylvan heroes of many centuries, we think them ungraceful, even forbidding in appearance. But when the trunks are viewed by themselves—massive stems through the apertures in one of which a road actually runs and a coach and four is driven—then we see that beauty of delineation, indentation and colouring is added to the mellow dignity of hoar antiquity.

Such in brief is the natural scenery upon a line drawn through the centre of the United States from ocean to ocean.

There are also many noble prospects where the works of man are seen in conjunction with the features of nature. The New York harbour strikes the incoming voyager as far more beautiful than anything to be seen on the Thames or the Mersey; and grander, though not finer, than the view on the Firth of Forth or the Clyde. The view of Boston from the heights near Brookline, of Philadelphia from the public garden, of Baltimore from the Washington monument, of Cincinnati from the lofty bank of the Ohio, or again the long shady avenues of Washington, with the domed Capitol terminating the vista, are sights comparable with the finest things of the kind in any country. The Broadway of New

York, with its decorated house-fronts, its ensigns floating in the breeze, its diversified sign-boards, its many-shaped cars, its light-painted omnibuses, and its surging throng of passengers, affords one of the most brilliant and lively street-views in the world. The clearness of the atmosphere at great industrial centres, as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York—the latter been reckoned as next after London, the second manufacturing city in the world—strikes with envy the English visitor accustomed to his own murky towns, and reminds him of the bright Paris. The fortunate cause is attributed to the use of anthracite coal from the Appalachian mines, the smoke from which does not darken the air. But in some cities on the west side of the Alleghanies, where bituminous coal is used, the same blackened aspect is seen as that with which we are but too familiar in England. In that region Pittsburg notably is dubbed “the smoky city.”

I now turn to the second division of my subject, namely, the People.

I desire to speak of our American kinsmen, not only with respect, but also with regard and affection. I have noticed them so closely at different times, and have received so much kindness at their hands, that my account may be tinged with an excusable partiality. Still, I trust that my admiration will not prove to be blind nor my praise to be indiscriminate. At all events, when much criti-

cism has been, and still is, directed towards them, when their faults are discerned under that fierce light that beats upon republics as well as upon monarchies, it is well to consider what may be adduced by a friendly witness on behalf of a mighty people, allied with us by ancestral blood, by fellowship in freedom, by community in laws, literature, and religion.

It is not difficult for any sympathetic student to read something at least in the character of Americans. For they are remarkably outspoken, and give candid utterance to the thought that surges in their minds or the sentiment that wells from their hearts. Their wit or humour is ready and unfailing; it is dry, pungent, and full of sarcastic fancy; it may not be polished or pointed like a French rapier, but it seldom degenerates into coarseness. Yet we must acknowledge that the political caricatures, in their first-class publications, have not quite the same refinement that publications of the corresponding class have in London.

Their leading characteristic is generosity. This noble quality is produced by several large causes, which are immediately discernible. They feel that nature has endowed them with a magnificent heritage, the like of which has not been vouchsafed to any nation in all history. They are conscious of the lordship over a continent stretching from ocean to ocean. They are impressed with the magnitude

and grandeur of their surroundings. They perceive nature displayed on the vastest scale, and yet rapidly subdued by their hands. They see an illimitable future before them, like an avenue perpetually widening. Thus their hearts are opened, their imagination makes for itself wings, their thoughts take flight and soar. They can indeed afford to be generous, and there is nothing whatever to cause meanness or pettiness in them. They are strangers to anything like jealousy of other nations. They desire to live and let live, to flourish and let flourish, to go on prospering and to prosper. Prior to the present century they claim a rightful share in the Anglo-Saxon record of several centuries. But their own history of just one century is, in their estimation, glorious though brief. They are proud of having fought their way to independence against such a nationality as the British, though perhaps they hardly remember to the full the inestimable aid they received from foreign powers. They are still more proud of having preserved the Union through the largest civil war known in human annals, waged with equal courage on both sides. As one of their soldier-orators once said, the vicissitudes of the conquerors and the conquered alike contributed to the national honour; if an assault succeeded there was glory, of course; if it failed, and if the defence succeeded, still there was glory, for the defenders were Americans too; whichever

side lost in any conflict still the winners were Americans.

Cognate with these characteristics they have the quality of frankness. They have nothing to conceal, though they may have much to palliate. The more their condition is examined the sounder will it appear on the whole; the discoverable demerits will be more than counterbalanced by unquestionable merits. Their faults may be on a formidable scale, but then the scale of the virtues is grand also. They are consequently the foremost to acknowledge their shortcomings or their errors, for they know that there are no backslidings, no "*vestigia retrorsum*," and that their course, if liable to deviation, is yet one of continuous progress. Sympathy, indeed, they claim from inquirers, but so long as that is accorded generally, they are willing to point out deficiencies and seem anxious that no exaggerated notions in their favour should prevail.

Then they are absolutely fearless; indeed they have nothing to fear from without. They could hardly be invaded with any effect; they have no scattered empire that could be broken, no distant possessions that could be attacked, no imperial bonds that could be loosened, no foreign system that could be enfeebled. They recollect that there are three thousand miles of stormy ocean between them and their nearest neighbour. The only nation regarding whom they could possibly feel any appre-

hension would be the British. But they are so bound to us and we to them by ties of relationship, of mutual intercourse, of commercial interest, of emigration and immigration, and further, our power of harming each other is so fearful, that war between the two sections of the Anglo-Saxon race is passing out of the range of possibility. Therefore in effect they calmly say, "we shall not keep up armies and navies; let other nations do that who have dangerous neighbours; these things are not suited to us; let us save the money which would otherwise be spent on armaments."

We in Europe can appreciate the blessing they thus enjoy in this immunity from apprehension. How different is the case in the European continent, France fearing Germany, while Germany is suspicious of France; Russia and Germany distrustful of each other; Italy and Austria anxious for self-preservation; even England apprehensive from time to time of some among them; while all of them, including England, dread the day when the dismemberment of Turkey may cause the apple of discord to be flung in their midst. Meanwhile for Europe the economic result is a prodigious waste of resources in labour and material for armaments, and a wear and tear of the national fibre—all which is saved to the Americans, namely, by reason of their fortunate situation geographically.

It is this ever-abiding consciousness of strength

that in great part produces in the American nation one peculiar quality which must be explained.

In some respects the Americans are patiently tolerant, to an extent which would be almost incredible. They will allow internal abuses to spring up, tyranny to be indirectly practised, oppression of a formidable kind to be organized by corporations against individuals, evils to be inflicted by companies or associations upon the public. They forbear, because they know that when the trouble is past endurance, they can rise in their might and sweep it away as cobwebs with a besom. In the hands of such a people the broom sweeps fearfully clean. Just after the general election in 1882, I saw a political cartoon in New York which illustrated this. A wheel is lying on the ground, on the outer tier is the name of some all-pervading evil, on each spoke the name of some abuse. A working-man elector is standing over it with a sledge hammer, and smashing the spokes; his hammer being named "Vote."

Nevertheless, this sort of remedy is drastic, and produces other evils as great as those which it was intended to cure. It is like the dust storm clearing the thick and heavy atmosphere. Occasionally, the popular movement against some particular maladministration has brought about scenes of violence and lawlessness that have scandalized the nation. The case of Cincinnati in 1883 was an unhappy instance. There must have been

some grave miscarriages of criminal justice to induce the populace to take the law into their own hands. For a short time the city was in the hands of an excited multitude, and seemed to be in a state of siege. The cases of lynching which have occurred even up to the most recent dates, and in highly populated localities, are instances to the same effect. After long-suffering patience exercised in vain, the people perceive that the criminal law fails, and, believing the interests of society to be at stake, proceed forthwith to deal out a rude and summary justice. The procedure is, of course, semi-barbarous, and is sometimes attended by cruelty, although it has its origin in a rough sense of equity.

The Americans possess individuality in a marked degree. Gigantic evils might exist in politics, in finance, in society, still each citizen would go on working out his own destiny or carving his own fortune. Municipalities might be corrupt, politicians intriguing, the revenues mismanaged, monopolists flourishing like green bay-trees, still each man would be preoccupied or absorbed in his own affairs, and would know that they were very well managed, however bad might be the conduct of public affairs. He knows too that sooner or later the day of retribution will arrive when he will mete out full measure to the wrong doers. Thus side by side with much of mismanagement in municipal affairs, there are growing up self-reliance, individuality, personal aptitude, and

other civic virtues which constitute the character of a great nation. Still this individual preoccupation, diverting the minds of men from public concerns, impairs the working of democratic institutions. The civil executive is generally feeble; the police force in the interior of the country is scanty. Even the prisons are imperfectly guarded in remote districts, so that the sheriff and jailor have but the slenderest means of resisting a mob bent on mischief. Sometimes doubt has been cast even on the empanelling of juries in criminal trials where the accused persons are in any way influential. There have been questions even of the inviolability of the ballot-box and polling-booth. Statements have appeared in the newspapers headed, "Frauds on the Franchise." Several nicknames are current for those voters who thus misbehave. For repressing disturbance there is little or no force immediately available. The army is so small for so big a country that practically there is no reserve. The governor of each State can call out the militia, and that is his particular function. But the militia is imperfectly trained, and there is not enough of volunteering in the English sense. In event of real need the militia would be rapidly drafted, and the experience of 1861-5 shews how splendidly the Americans can serve as citizen-soldiers if they like.

Again, the management of municipal affairs in the large towns is regarded by Americans as one of the

weak points in their national system. At the capital or metropolitan towns of the Union the observer is at once struck by many noble works for the public convenience, either some electric lighting, or some street tramways, or some steam-ferry. But he will find that these are done by private enterprise, and are necessarily managed (if they are to exist at all) in an efficient and remunerative manner. When, however, he comes to those works which have to be done by the municipality, then inefficiency begins to appear, such as the road-making, the paving, the draining, and so on. The municipal buildings are indeed constructed on a grand scale, but then he will hear in some cities that these buildings have been constructed at an excessive cost in comparison with buildings of equal size constructed by private companies. The efficiency of all these operations in the City of Washington is often cited. That is a place under the Federal administration directly, and is far better managed than any of the cities which are under municipal corporations. There have been municipal abuses on really a tremendous scale within this generation, brought about by "rings," or knots of men banded together for wicked purposes. The occurrence of such sinister events, however, becomes more and more rare, until, as we may hope, they will cease altogether. All thoughtful Americans are keenly alive to these and many other evils or troubles that might be mentioned, and will bring

the moral force of opinion to bear upon repression or prevention. Still they console themselves, and with much reason, by recounting, not only the national results actually achieved, but also the abundant germs of further achievement which are perceptible on every hand.

I state these troubles, not with the view of palliating them, but in order to illustrate the effect produced upon the American mind. For every citizen, knowing that local authority has scarcely any physical force at its back immediately disposable, feels himself responsible for preserving the peace. For himself, he will help his neighbours in answering for order; if he and they do not, then there is no other effective power to do so. Further, he must incite his fellows to act likewise, and to join with him and others for that purpose. Consequently, the instinctive capacity which the citizens have for self-organisation is wonderful. The idea embodied in the term "Vigilance Committee" is permanent. Men are indicated who have been members of such "Committees," and who have thus proved their mettle under circumstances which test the possession of civil and military abilities in combination. On the whole, the private citizens in the United States have a higher sense of personal responsibility for order, in the extreme resort, than that which is felt in any other nation.

Interesting examples may be cited in the political

demonstrations of a Presidential campaign. I witnessed torch-light processions, near San Francisco, at Peoria in Illinois, at Chicago, at Philadelphia, and particularly at New York. Some of these processions belonged to the Republican party, and others to the Democratic. But however vivacious might be the shows for the eye, and the sounds for the ear, still there was perfect order. When the display was made by either party, then opponents either watched it in good-tempered silence, or kept out of the way. There was never any interruption nor any counter-demonstration. The opposition party seemed satisfied with the knowledge that a day or so later their turn would come to make a display which would also pass uninterrupted. The New York processions were indeed wonderful spectacles. One evening the Republican procession defiled past their leaders by torch-light; the march past began shortly after 8 p.m. and lasted till 3 a.m. the next morning, that is for seven hours without a break. There were fancy costumes, head-dresses, uniforms of all colours, heraldic blazonry, banners and emblems of all devices, quaint accoutrements, with resounding cheers and every accompaniment of merrymaking, with the flare and the glare of electric stars, transparencies, and blue-lights. Yet there was discipline among the processionists and order in the crowd, consisting largely of opponents. In this procession sixty thousand

electors were reckoned to have taken part. The next afternoon the Democrats diversified the public entertainment by a daylight procession. Their men marched with close ranks in black coats and hats, the only uniform mark being a blue ribbon on the breast. Again, 60,000 men defiled in the course of three hours in the midst of a multitude, doubtless consisting of opponents, in orderly quiet. Both these processions were just as peaceful as would be the march of a volunteer force through the streets of London.

Among such a people it is but natural that inventiveness should be developed to a degree certainly not surpassed, perhaps not equalled, by any nation. This superlative quality is stimulated by the necessity of supplementing the labour-supply by mechanical resources. An imaginative print representing the American inventors seated together at a table has popular circulation. Certainly this illustrious muster-roll of names is a source of just pride to the nation. The traveller, who wishes to appreciate American genius should carefully inspect the Patent Office at Washington, for which interesting purpose abundant facilities are offered. The specimens of inventions are to be seen not only by tens of thousands, but literally by hundreds of thousands. Of these inventions many are not prosecuted after the patents are taken out, many too are afterwards amalgamated with others; and thus

the number of living effective inventions is greatly less than the total number of specimens. Still the lesser number is absolutely vast, and indicates a fertility of resource, an activity of research, and a power of adapting means to ends, that redound to American credit, and inspire the observer with infinite hope for the future of the nation.

As a further consequence of the national disposition it follows that there will be much diversity in respect of religion, not so much in religious belief but rather in ecclesiastical organization. There are many different churches in America and divers religious communities. All the corporate bodies known among us Europeans are fully represented there; the Church of England men (styled Episcopalians), the Presbyterians, the Independents (apparently corresponding to the Congregationalists in England), the Baptists, and others also. The Catholics, or Roman Catholics, muster in considerable force. The Unitarians are influential and respected. In no country are the churches more numerous, or the cities more adorned with spires and towers, than in America. In all the communities the sacred ministry is highly organized, and the congregations are large. And without claiming any excessive merit, it may in justice be said that the public tone is good. There is comparatively not much of materialism, secularism, scepticism, atheism. If it be that these forms of human

thought are speculative, then there is scant leisure for such speculations. For the minds of men are pre-engaged by the pressing duties to be performed, and by the practical considerations of a laborious existence. They are all the more disposed to be content with the faith which their fathers followed, which commanded their belief in childhood and youth, and which still appeals irresistibly to their quickened conscience and their ripened judgment.

Life is real ! life is earnest !
 And the grave is not its goal,
 * * * * * *
 Act—act in the living present,
 Heart within and God o'erhead !
 * * * * * *
 Let us, then, be up and doing,
 With a heart for any fate.

These lines of Longfellow afford an index to the heart of American-born Americans.

In practical relation to the efforts of the several religious communities, there are the charities which are designed for every human need, for all human miseries, and which are arranged with consummate carefulness. In the last generation, Charles Dickens, by no means a laudatory witness, attested the excellence of these charities. In the present generation they have expanded into a still nobler growth. Again, out of their prosperous resources, and their abundant substance, the Americans have been most

ready to give liberally for the conversion of the heathen in all lands, and for Christian education in many vernacular languages. Their missions of various denominations have spread to Egypt, Palestine, the Levant, Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, China, and the Pacific islands. Their assistance in the diffusion of Christianity in British India has deservedly received the gratitude of British philanthropists. Their home organization, such as that of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Boston, and of the Presbyterian Board at New York, is second only to that of the great Missionary Societies in Britain.

As a consequence of the individuality above described, the people have a great regard for and belief in education for all classes, including the poorest. Not only is elementary education provided gratuitously at the public expense, but universities are established by the government in all the States composing the Union. Nor has State aid at all dried up the sources of private munificence. The founding or endowing of educational institutions of the highest class at many centres of population has set up monuments of well-doing in this respect.

The sight of the good thus diffused, and the example of success, serve to stimulate a noble ambition in wealthy citizens. In no country are such men more often moved to give largely of their substance for spreading enlightenment among their

countrymen. In all the branches of the national education the tendency is to foster self-reliance and regard for the dignity of the individual man as a unit in society. No doubt the number of illiterate citizens, as apparent from statistics, in a country where manhood suffrage prevails, must cause anxiety. But if this point be examined, it will probably be found to arise from immigration to the United States from European countries, and not from any lack of educational means within America itself. Certainly Americans desire that all voters should be educated, and for that purpose will submit to financial sacrifices. Among the voters are included all the coloured men enfranchised after the civil war, and to the education of their children special efforts are directed.

The educational principle is applied to women equally with men. Besides the elementary and middle class education of girls, the superior education of women has received special care. Though it is admitted that the most highly educated women in America are surpassed by the lady graduates of the University of London, still many American ladies are taking good degrees at the universities in the various States of the Union. And there are several separate colleges for women where excellent instruction is given in literature, in arts, and in science. These institutions are in their way hardly to be surpassed in any country. In no country is a con-

siderate and respectful bearing towards women better maintained than in America.

The Americans are aware, however, that the national education will not live by schools alone. It must be pursued in the daily life and conversation of the adults.

With this view manifold efforts are made to cultivate the public taste. Street architecture is diligently studied, and the style of the public buildings has at least much of pretension. Whether this pretension would always be admitted by artists and architects may be questioned, but it shows at all events that the mind of the authorities is bent in this direction. Consequently the schools of architectural and decorative design will be sure to advance in artistic taste. The public libraries are extensive and well stocked in most of the principal cities, and are usually free. In some cities, as New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, the libraries are magnificent instances of private generosity; the structures, too, are worthy of the intellectual purposes in contemplation.

The people's parks constitute one of the fairest features in the aspect of America. Signal skill has been shown in utilizing the advantages of the ground and in combining art with nature. Such is the park near Philadelphia, where the steep and wooded banks of the Wissahikken have been brought within the vast enclosure. Such is the park near

San Francisco, where long stretching dunes of sand near the Pacific coast have been planted with firs. These two parks are more truly beautiful than anything of the sort to be seen in Europe. The public gardens at New York, Chicago, St. Louis, are grandly laid out, so as to afford instruction as well as recreation to the people. At some places, as at Cincinnati, the cemeteries are much adorned with vegetation, and much care is bestowed on landscape gardening around the place where the Christian dead repose.

Thus we see how well the Americans know that, as a general proposition, they ought to superadd culture to their national successes material or intellectual. They are aware that culture is a quality more readily felt than explained, more easily perceived than formulated. It will hardly be possessed by a young, busy, and advancing nation like theirs in at all an equal degree with elder nations, more particularly England, "the mother land," to which they naturally look for an example. Cultured Americans are of course to be found who have for self-improvement resorted to the seats of ancient learning and the centres of modern art. But the diffusion of culture among the people broadly is one of the crying wants of America. A certain sort of culture is beginning to spread already. That will be refined to a higher degree, and will radiate to wider and wider circles. The want of time, of

course, presents a great obstacle; learned leisure being little, if at all, known. The wear and tear, the bustle and hustle, the hurry and skurry, the rush and crush—of the life in America, frighten culture away or drive it out. The business of the day is absorbing, the climate is more exhausting than that of Europe, at some seasons of the year and in some parts of the country, it is almost enervating. Men are expending their nervous force and their brain power from morn to eve. When they return home they are too tired to attempt any fresh mental recreation. Even if they use their brief holiday for touring, their mind has been so strongly bent in some particular direction that they cannot unbend it, so that it may grasp or embrace the many objects of interest or instruction which present themselves to the tourist. Hence they are but too apt to pass by things of beauty in a perfunctory manner. It is well known that most of the American visitors to Niagara do not allow themselves time to visit the matchless Falls, or to examine the manifestations of Nature on the sublimest scale. Still, as leisure shall increase, as the opportunities of travel shall multiply, and as the rising generation shall learn how, and what, to observe, we may anticipate that American culture will increase. Already the thousands of men and women who cross the Atlantic from America every year must return with a store of ideas acquired in the old world, and must bring

with them intellectual seed, which, sown in the new world, may germinate and 'grow into fresh varieties under modified conditions.

The question then suggests itself as to whether the Americans, having assimilated the mental nourishment gathered in the old world, will produce for themselves any new civilization that shall be all their own. In 1882 Herbert Spencer predicted that, being of a race mainly Anglo-Saxon but with an admixture of good blood from several nationalities in Europe, the Americans would succeed in evolving some forms of civilization for which originality might be claimed. We may speculate whether this civilization of the future will appear on the Atlantic sea-board, or in the basin of the Mississippi, or in the bosom of the Rocky Mountains, or on the slopes of the Pacific. As yet, however, there are but faint signs of its appearing. Through America has produced painters, sculptors, musicians, still no trans-Atlantic school of painting, sculpture, or music has sprung up. The students still derive their inspiration from Rome, Paris, Munich. The decorative art is perhaps striking out separate paths for itself in several directions. Still, its impulse springs from the motive forces of the old world. Some charming poetry has been produced, but its quality does not differ essentially from that of the nineteenth century. Many citizens have distinguished themselves in philosophy, in social science, in speculative thought,

in political economy. But we may ask, what particular school of philosophy has been inaugurated? What original theories of social order have been propounded, what new schools of speculative thought have been instituted, what additional laws of economic science have been discovered? No fresh code of legal or juridical principles has been framed, the existing laws being based on those of England. Much practically has been done for the advancement of physical science. Some discoveries have been made to enlarge the bounds of human knowledge. The number of inventions has already been acknowledged. Some triumphs have been won in the domain of literature, especially history; doubtless because history approaches nearer to the relations between man and man. Prescott, Motley, and Bancroft have adorned the historical record of modern times, and have formed links between the experience of the new world and the traditions of the old. As yet, intellectual achievements have not been won, but the beginning may be at hand. Hitherto, however, the Americans have been so pre-occupied in a struggle with the vastness of Nature, that they have not been able to look round, or to reflect profoundly. They have had to subdue a continent, to reclaim it from savagery, to people it with civilized races, to cover it with a network of communications. They must have time allowed

them before they can invent a civilization for themselves.

Meanwhile, the style of the society among the best classes conduces distinctly to culture. Though the institutions and the formulæ are democratic, still the best society in America is exclusive. Nowhere in the oldest capitals of Europe has the upper society more of real exclusiveness than in New York, in Boston, in Philadelphia, and perhaps in other cities also. Still that exclusiveness has reference not to wealth or social influence, or political power, but rather to personal merit. And in that merit, a large, perhaps the largest, share is accorded to culture. In no country do cultivated taste and intellectual refinement—unaccompanied by wealth or other external advantage—win for their possessor a way into the best society so quickly and effectually as in America. Nowhere is mere wealth without personal gifts so ineffectual as a passport to such society, as in the American capitals. The proverb regarding the “almighty dollar” may still be applicable to certain departments of American life, but not to matters of society. So far from being almighty it is comparatively powerless respecting social eminence, or even respecting admission to what are the inner circles of the best classes.

But, whatever may be the ultimate shapes to be assumed by the evolution of American civilization,

already that civilization has caused the individuality of each citizen to be more respected than ever before in any nation. The personal dignity, the separate responsibility of every man, is far better understood in America than elsewhere. Yet each man is taught to regard himself as a unit in a vast sum, and as the component part of a whole to the centre of which he is drawn by the force of patriotic attraction. This principle has pertained more or less to all commonwealths in all ages. But nowhere in modern times has it been recognised so absolutely as in America.

After this summary of the mental and moral tendencies of the people, it will be interesting to inquire what is now the feeling of the Americans towards Britain—"the mother-land" as they affectionately call it, when it is mentioned in the prayers in church. Their displeasure at the conduct of Britain during the Civil War seems happily to have died out. Still, they are constantly alluding to Britain, which they usually call England, in terms of criticism, not unkindly indeed, but still severely close. The attention which they lavish upon her is probably equal to that which they bestow upon all other nations put together. During the Presidential campaign of 1885, the questions of Tariff, Free Trade, and Protection, turned the public gaze more than ever towards England. Indeed, in many of the speeches at political meetings, England and her

doings formed a leading topic. It must be added that according to American accounts, one cause of criticism upon England was the presence of Irish voters to whom some little disparagement of the Saxon would be palatable. For all that, the regard of Americans for England is intense, and lies at the very bottom of the national heart; it surges "*imo de pectore*" and "*manet altâ mente repostum*." They think very much about English opinion, far more than about that of any other people. Indeed, it may be doubted whether they seriously care for any outside opinion except English. We see how they visit the historic and classic scenes of the United Kingdom, studying reverently the places which form the birth-place or the cradle of the race from which they have sprung. They are pleased with English sympathy, they would instantly resent anything like English sarcasm. Surely we English should take careful note of this really amiable idiosyncrasy of theirs, which may be turned to blessed account for the peace of the world. They are indeed of our own flesh and blood, our veritable kith and kin beyond the sea. We may claim that their virtues are descended from the old British stock, and form part of that heritage which is the best endowment of the English-speaking race. We must also admit that their faults are of our own British type, with perhaps something of the exaggeration due to the novelty of their surroundings and the magnitude of

their position. No Briton, who knows them well, can fail to be proud of his blood-relationship with them, or to reckon up with thankfulness and satisfaction the net result of their achievements, after making every reasonable abatement and allowing every drawback. And, with the amazing traffic both of passengers and of goods across the Atlantic to and fro, the international relations between the two sections of the English-speaking population are of more value to us in the United Kingdom than any we can have with all the other nations of the earth. If the two can be united by community of interest, then in this age of statistical analysis we shall find that they twain combined in effective wealth, in industrial result, and in world-wide power, are equal to all other nations taken together.

I next proceed to the third division of my subject, namely, trade and industry.

It is difficult to touch on this essential matter without entering on the question of Protection, which I desire to avoid as far as possible. No doubt the protectionist view is still in the ascendant, though there is a free trade movement, especially in the central States of the Mississippi and Missouri. Still, the interests of New England and Pennsylvania, the voices of Boston, of New York, of Philadelphia, of Pittsburg, and of Cleveland, are strong enough to silence opposition. Murmurs are however heard; during the presidential campaign

democrat orators would point to the partial distress or general depression as proving that protection did not always bring prosperity. Free trade speakers would sometimes point to the decayed industry of shipbuilding in American dockyards as a proof that the raising of American prices under protection might throw business into the arms of England. Again it would be said that the protective tariff went beyond protection proper, and not only excluded foreign articles but caused the home prices to rise excessively, thus according to the producer an undue benefit at the cost of the consumer. This however will be, if it has not already been, remedied. Still the progress of American manufactures is a gigantic fact. In some branches where exquisite workmanship, accurate adaptation, fitting in of one part with another to a nicety, are needed, the workmen are second to none in the world. On the other hand some branches of textile manufactures, and other lesser fabrics, are not produced as well as they ought to be. This is commonly complained of by Americans themselves, who of course attribute the shortcoming to the absence of competition under the umbrella of protection.

The protectionist advocates will point to the inventiveness of Americans (to which I have already alluded), as proving that mental activity is not cramped or discouraged. But this inventiveness

arises mainly from the scarcity and dearness of labour, with the consequent necessity of supplementing such labour with mechanical appliances. The provision of labour-saving mechanism is one of the mainsprings of American inventiveness.

The condition of the artizans, as compared with that of their brethren in Britain, constitutes a moot question. There are in the new world the same melancholy tales of hard toil, with unremunerative pay and miserable lodging, as in the old world. There is no exemption from the struggle for existence, even across the Atlantic. Still, in many factories of many places, the men, women, and children are, according to any reasonable standard, in really good condition. As the wages are much higher than in Britain, and as food is comparatively cheap, it might be expected that the workpeople must be better off. Perhaps they are in some cases; but on the whole it is doubtful whether their income has really a greater purchasing power than that enjoyed by their brethren in Britain. For house-rent is excessively dear; clothing is expensive; and for all other articles, which the artizan would desire for his family, he has to pay the high prices caused by protection. Regarding all those clubs and institutes which in Britain ameliorate the lot of the working-man, the American artizan has not as yet quite the same advantages as his British brother; but these benefits will doubtless come in time. In

some cities artizans' dwellings, on an extensive system, are provided by private companies. Thus, occasionally, commodious, airy, and salubrious sets of rooms are allotted to families.

The observer is amazed by the progress of agriculture in the upper valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, and the development of cattle grazing in the region of the Rocky Mountains, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana. In States like Dakota and Minnesota the railway is opened out into the heart of the fertile prairie. As the line is pushed on, the farms are taken upon either side of it. The farmhouses spring up within sight of the railway station. The grain "elevators" are rapidly erected, the implements and machinery are imported for an agriculture which, though vigilantly supervised, has yet to be conducted almost without human labour. From the gathering of the very first harvest on the virgin soil, exportation by the railway begins. That which the irrigation channel is to a thirsty district of India, or a navigation canal to a province of China, a railway is to the prairie cultivation of the United States. He who would understand aright the agricultural enterprise of America should visit the districts in the upper valley of the Red River, near the Canadian border.

I now reach the fourth and last division of my subject, namely, the politics.

All men know that the United States now consist

of thirty-eight States, bound together by a federal union, besides eleven provinces called "Territories," which will doubtless become States hereafter, but which, being in an inchoate condition, are directly under the Federal Government. It is probable, however, that few men, until they have travelled in the country, realise the vastness of this federation. Each State on the one hand is jealous of retaining its sovereign autonomy within specified limits, its independence in internal legislation and administration, its own elected governor, its own senate and parliament, its own courts of justice, its own executive departments, its own civil establishments, its own militia, its own taxation and finance. Each State, on the other hand, is jealous to evince loyal adherence to the central or federal power, to preserve the Union for particular purposes, foreign policy, war and peace, customs tariff, post-office revenue. The States are anxious to shew themselves before the world in a corporate and collective capacity as a united nation. Of all the political sentiments of the time, no sentiment is so dominant as that of union. In many parts of the country it becomes almost a passionate feeling. Doubts are perhaps felt by far-sighted men, or by political philosophers, as to possible disruption among the parts of so vast a whole as this. Some also may speculate as to causes of disintegration being at work. But at present the Union, and nothing but the Union, is the iron rule

of the public mind. Now, let any one reflect upon this organisation of the United States, from the details to the total, and from the total back to the details, considering the wide-spread area, the numerous population, the amount of the revenue, the proportions of the establishments. Then let him say whether any nation, ancient or modern, can show an organization so minute in its particulars, yet so comprehensive in its integrity.

Notwithstanding all this patriotic fidelity to the national system, the Americans of the best class do not seem to have overcome their aversion respecting "politics," in the technical or professional sense of the term, as affecting the management of elections. There is still the dread of "the machine" worked by unseen prime-movers, and of the mechanism stirred by "wire-pullers." These objections are doubtless diminishing, and will disappear as the system improves, and the leisured classes increase. Meanwhile, the name "politician," which in Britain is deemed an honourable appellation, in America has an uncertain, perhaps even a sinister sound. This matter lies at the root of the question regarding civil service reform. Up to 1884 the power of removing officials wholesale from office, solely in reference to party politics, threw into the hands of a newly elected President and his partisans an amount of patronage hardly conceivable to a foreigner. The offices thus disposable were to be counted by tens

and tens of thousands. This is what was meant by the ominous words, "the spoils to the victors." The statesmen who first uttered and acted upon them did the greatest dis-service that ever was done to the United States. Those who worked for securing elections expected to be rewarded by offices, and thus a class of "politicians" arose whose presence deterred the upper classes from entering into politics. The civil service reform, which was enacted by the Federal Legislature in 1883, will remedy a great part of this evil as concerns the federal departments, and is leading to the provision of a similar remedy within the several States. Its efficacy could hardly be tested till after the presidential election at the end of 1884, in other words not until 1885. It is understood to have worked tolerably well during the year recently closed. But sufficient time has hardly elapsed to justify a positive opinion being formed in 1886. Still, whether there be present success or failure, we may be sure that the tide of moral opinion is setting in this direction, that the reformers will ultimately prevail, and that "delenda est" has been indelibly written against the patronage system.

During the civil war, and for some time afterwards, there was a clear line of separation between the two great parties in the commonwealth, the Republicans and the Democrats. But, since the

final pacification of the country after that great conflict up to 1885, it has been difficult for an Englishman to understand what the difference in principle between the two parties really is. It has indeed been alleged that the Democrats are "unsound" respecting the currency, with reference, apparently, to its metallic bases. But this question would not alone suffice to separate two parties. During recent years, the two burning questions have been protection of American industry and civil service reform. The Republicans, indeed, are more disposed towards the continuance of protection than the Democrats. Indeed, protection was a main "plank" in the Republican "platform" during the presidential contest in 1884. The Democrats are believed in their hearts to favour free trade, though not prepared at once to abrogate the protection tariff. Nevertheless, they did not venture to make free trade one of their battle-cries, nor did they propose to modify the tariff to any essential extent. Upon this great question, then, no clear line of demarcation between the two parties is to be found. The Democrats generally have favoured civil service reform, very few of them having held aloof. But, many of the Republicans have equally favoured this reform; indeed, some of them have been among the leaders, promoters, and managers in it. Some of them have, however,

withheld co-operation, without directly opposing ; and the opponents, whoever they were (and there were some), must have belonged to their ranks. But here, again, we miss any line of demarcation between the two parties. In some parts of the country "temperance," with prohibitory and restrictive measures upon the liquor traffic, will constitute the foremost topic. But these will be advocated by a party formed for them mainly and prepared to subordinate all other allegiance to this object. So no means can here be found for discriminating between Republicans and Democrats.

From the want of diacritical principles, some observers might infer that there was no division between the two parties, except the familiar one of those who are in office or power and those who are out. Such however is not the case, for there is a real difference between them which can be felt strongly though it is not easily expressed. The Democrats will hold that they show more consideration to "State rights" than their opponents, a greater disposition to prevent the functions and privileges of the many States of the Union being at all submerged or overridden by the federal power. They think they evince a livelier determination to check arrangements which may degenerate into monopolies, to restrain corporations and companies from aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the

public or of individuals. Generally they are more attentive to the growth of local authority and to the status of the individual citizen. They are milder, quieter, and less aspiring in foreign policy, somewhat inclined to non-intervention so far as that may be consistent with the honour and interests of their country. On the other hand the Republicans are reputed to be stronger administrators and better financiers than their rivals, more ready to assert the position of the Federal Government in all that concerns the general interests of the country, especially as regards through communication by rail or otherwise, more willing to support the organization of private enterprise on a large scale. They are also more forward and decided in foreign policy.*

All must acknowledge that, retaining power for twenty years, the Republican party has produced a grand record for history. It brought a sanguinary

* There was recently a project whereby all the lesser republics and the other Powers of the whole American Continent, above and below the Isthmus of Panama, were to refer their disputes to arbitration. The arbitrator of course would be the Government of the United States. Again, an American statesman once remarked that the possessions of the Great Republic (Alaska and its islets) stretched into the Pacific to a distance equal to that across the continent from New York to San Francisco.

conflict with the Secessionists to a triumphant issue; it liberated the slaves and gradually brought them under civilization; it restored order to the Southern States and inducted them into a new path of progress; it paid off an enormous debt with a rapidity unequalled in the annals of finance; it substituted specie payments for an inflated paper-currency; it imposed a tariff which (whatever might be the economic demerits) raised the revenue to a height unknown before, and brought up the manufactures to perhaps the greatest bulk yet attained by any industrial people. Nevertheless, the dictates of rational freedom require that no party should remain in power too long. This holds good even in Britain, where the Government has not much patronage, and cannot greatly influence the prospects of individuals or of corporations. But it is still more applicable to the United States, where, as we have just seen, the patronage is enormous, and where enterprises can be advanced or retarded by the Legislature, thus making or marring the fortunes of individuals or corporations. It must necessarily happen that in the course of years abuses grow up and cluster round the party in power. Therefore, without any undue exaltation of the Democrats (who can produce a historic record in past times), and with full recognition of the services of the Republicans, there can be no doubt that the American electors at the end of 1884 did

wisely and well in ordaining a transfer in 1885 of power for a four years' term from the Republicans to the Democrats, and in affording to the latter a chance of renewing that series of services which once earned the gratitude of their countrymen.*

* In this Essay I have not attempted to discuss the many constitutional questions relating to the government of the United States, or to describe the salutary power exercised by the Supreme Court at Washington respecting the maintenance of the Constitution. Nor have I indicated several checks which Republican wisdom has imposed upon rash or reckless action by political parties, but which are more or less wanting under our British system. The Canadians consider that their system, framed after the British model, secures a more immediate effect, and a more direct action for public opinion in Canada, than in the United States. They hold that their national freedom is more perfect than that enjoyed by their American neighbours. Respecting the guardianship of State rights, of which the Democrat party is justly jealous (see p. 483), I would cite the following passage from Sir Henry Maine's recent work on "Popular Government."

"There was a time at which the authority of the several States might be thought to be gaining at the expense of the authority of the United States. But the War of Secession reversed this tendency, and the Federation is slowly but decidedly gaining at the cost of the States." (P. 197).

FINIS.

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